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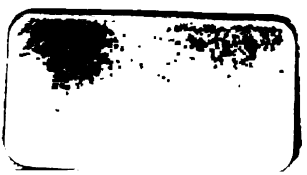

ANNALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM

THE ASCENSION OF GEORGE III, TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Volume I.

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ANNALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE ASCENSION OF GEORGE III

TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

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Ascension of George III.... His general character, and the hopes entertained of a prosperous reign.... Aspect of public affairs.... The ministry which he found upon his coming to the throne.... Their characters.... The duke of Newcastle.... Lord Granville.... Mr. Legge.... Mr. Fox.... Mr. Pitt.... History of the party of Leicester house, and retrospect of the king's education.... His majesty's speech at the opening of parliament in 1760.... Loyal addresses from both houses of parliament.... Business in parliament this session.... Bill for the relief of insolvent debtors.... Supplies voted for the ensuing year.... An act passed at the instigation of the royal speech, for the better securing permanence and independence to British judges.... Mr. Onslow retires from the situation of speaker of the house of commons.... Vote of thanks and pension given him.... The dissolution of parliament.

A. D. 1760.

CHAP. I.

1760. October 25.

GEORGE, the son of Frederic prince of Wales, and of Augusta princess of Saxe-Gotha, succeeded, in the twenty-third year of his age, to his grandfather George II. A brighter period cannot be found in British history than that of his present majesty's ascension to the throne. Of that illustrious line, who, for the interests of British liberty, had been called to the kingdom, and who had twice trode rebellion under foot, he was the first king who had been born and bred in England. His mind, it was justly imagined, from an English education, had been early imbued with the knowledge of our free constitution, and with that *public spirit* which seems the indigenous passion of the country. In his temper and dispositions there was known to be the utmost generosity; his morals were upright; and his manners exceedingly gracious, corresponding to the loyal affection in which he was held by his people.

No circumstance was wanting to fill up the picture of general prosperity. The nation was indeed at war; but it was a just and glorious war, conducted, by land and sea, with honour to the British arms. In all the colonies our land forces had defeated the French; at sea, the enemy had lost, during successive engagements, more than a hundred ships of war, of which a third were ships of the line, and the rest considerable frigates. In her trade, as well as in her battles, the power of France was diminished, while British commerce rode protected by the strength of her naval supremacy. Of her energy in conducting the war the country had given ample tokens in her last parliamentary

supplies. Besides the garrisons abroad, 50,000 land forces were voted; and for manning our fleets, amounting to a hundred and twenty ships of the line, 70,000 seamen were allotted for the ensuing year. To guide these immense resources there was an able cabinet at home. The navy was under Lord Anson's inspection; a trust well committed to that illustrious officer. A powerful and popular administration having been established in 1757, the various departments of office were filled up by men of talents. As the ostensible head of ministry stood the duke of Newcastle, a veteran in whig principles, and in the highest honours of the state. His weaknesses of temper and behaviour, his impatience of superior talents, and a hurried habit of transacting business, made him less respected than his abilities really deserved. He had been often foiled in political rivalships; in particular with Sir Robert Walpole, whose cool and deliberate address was far an over-match for the bustling activity of the duke; but, assisted as he was by the talents of the present cabinet, he afforded a fund of merits which could be called into action: he possessed promptitude in council and debate: he was a thorough master of foreign affairs; and his influence and fortune were both extensively useful.

Lord Granville filled the office of president of the council with great reputation for argumentative eloquence in the senate, and for attention to public business. He was a man of eminent talents, and very proudly conscious of his own importance. Although he had been upon the worst terms with the duke of Newcastle in his former political career, he submitted, however, in the present coalition, to act along with him. It was, indeed, the genius of the present ministry to unite opposing characters. Lord Temple, the nephew and heir of Lord

CHAP. I.

Cobham, succeeded in the state to his uncle's influence. His merits will be traced in the political transactions of proceeding years. One of the most distinguished of this coalition was the Honourable Henry Bilson Legge, whose premature departure from office, after the present ascension, made his case as interesting to the public as the cause of it was honourable to himself[1]. Mr. Legge was designed, in his younger years, for the service of the royal navy; but, happening to acquire the friendship of Sir Robert Walpole, he obtained, by his interest, a seat in parliament, and passed through the several offices of secretary to the treasurer, envoy to the court of Berlin, treasurer of the navy, one of the commissioners of the treasury, and at last attained, in the late coalition, the high station of chancellor of the exchequer. His character for solid and effective talents stood high in the estimation of all parties. Sir Robert Walpole, who was no bad judge of men, said of him, in awkward, yet expressive, terms, that he never knew a *man who had so little rubbish about him.* His strongest recommendation was the clear and consistent moderation which, in all political struggles, he evinced, united with an unyielding independence, for which he at last suffered the martyrdom of expulsion.

Mr. Fox, whose eloquence and genius were of the most respectable order, submitted, in this ministry, to the subordinate situation of paymaster of the forces. Lord Northington was lord-keeper,

[1] For the history of Mr. Legge's dismissal see the appendix to the life of Lord Chatham. He stood, in the year 1759, candidate as a representative for the county of Southampton, in competition with Sir Simeon Stuart, a relation and protege of Lord Bute. His lordship made Mr. Legge understand, that unless he receded from this competition he should forfeit the prince's favour. Mr. Legge manfully scorned to recede, and was turned out, for his ill-manners, upon the ascension of George III.

Lord Holdernesse was secretary of state, and the duke of Devonshire lord of the admiralty.

But the soul and mover of this administration was Mr. Secretary Pitt. This illustrious statesman, who had first distinguished himself in parliament by opposing the measures of Sir Robert Walpole, attracted, early in his political career, the friendship of the earl of Temple[2], and the patronage of Lord Cobham[3]. His maiden speech in the house of commons was a strong panegyric upon the prince of Wales, whose interests he afterwards supported with ardour, when Sir Robert Walpole opposed the motion of Mr. Pulteney, for granting the prince a liberal revenue. His speeches, during the successive sessions of his opposition, both during the ministry of Walpole and of his successor Lord Wilmington, made a deep impression upon the public mind (though they could not stem the torrent of ministerial measures), and gradually matured his immense reputation. Those he delivered upon the reduction of the army, upon the Spanish convention, and on the measures pursued for the defence of Hanover, exhibited the sentiments of a patriot not less than the powers of an orator. After the junction of Lord Cobham with the Pelhams, when Lord Granville[4], being opposed in council, resigned, that ministry was formed which was called

[2] Then Richard Grenville, esquire.

[3] Mr. Pitt, like Lord Cobham, having provoked Sir Robert Walpole by his opposition, the minister wreaked his vengeance on them, by the only effort he could make to their prejudice, viz. depriving them of their commissions in the army. This similarity of situation in Mr. Pitt to his own probably attached his lordship to the young orator. On the occasion of Mr. Pitt's losing his cornetcy of horse, the following verses were addressed to him:—

Long had thy virtues mark'd thee out for fame,
Far, far superior to a cornet's name:
This generous Walpole saw, and, griev'd to find
So mean a post disgrace that noble mind,
The servile standard from the free-born hand
He took, and bade thee lead the patriot band.

[4] Formerly Lord Carteret.

CHAP. I.

the broad-bottom ministry. Lord Cobham, before assenting to this coalition, had stipulated for the introduction of Mr. Pitt; his reception was in fact the only difficulty in forming a coalition; for the king entertained a violent prejudice against him, on account of his opposition to Hanoverian subsidies. The duke of Newcastle, anxious to form a ministry which the Pelhams were to rule, undertook to remove this prejudice from the king's
1744. mind, and to accommodate Mr. Pitt, at a period, which, he assured Lord Cobham, should not be far distant. Accordingly, upon the king's return from Hanover, his lordship claimed the fulfilment of the duke's promise. The king was solicited to appoint Mr. Pitt secretary at war; but his majesty was at this time dissatisfied with all his ministers, except Lord Bath and Lord Granville, and at their instance, it is said, refused. The duke stated to his majesty his engagement with Lord Cobham. The king angrily replied, 'that he must break it.' In consequence of this refusal, Newcastle, Cobham, and the other whigs, agreed upon *a general resignation*, as the best measure for frightening the crown into compliance. The king was alarmed; Lords Granville and Bath resigned in their turn; and Lord Cobham was allowed to introduce his friend in triumph, as vice-treasurer of Ireland. Upon
1746. the death of Mr. Winnington, Mr Pitt was appointed paymaster of the forces, an office which he held with spotless honour and integrity. During eight years that elapsed, till the death of Mr. Pelham (an event subversive of this incongruous ministry), many secret projects were continually started by its rival parties to establish a monopoly of power: from these intrigues and negociations Mr. Pitt stood disdainfully aloof, confiding in the vast influence which his own talents and the public knowledge of his virtues promised to bestow; he

CHAP. I.

needed no compact with friends, no compromise with opponents, nor submission to principles which he hated, to *obtain his rank* in the scale of government. For a space of two entire parliaments, the nation had heard its dearest rights asserted by his eloquence: there was so much fervour in his genius, that it kindled an interest in every subject, however seemingly indifferent. All the truths which he inforced became popular and favourite opinions: they came like light from the diamond, borrowing lustre from the medium of conveyance. In the house of commons, as well as in private conference, his supremacy of talents continued to be felt. The duke of Newcastle himself complained of his haughty demeanour; but it was only to his private secretary, who advised his grace to overlook it, saying, it would be most prudent. Thus, feeling himself entitled to sway the commons, he would not allow Mr. Fox, in the plan of a new ministry, to rank as secretary of state, a place, which, when filled by a commoner, generally entitles the holder to be minister of the lower house. He did not ask the seals, but expected them to be offered. With no satisfactory claim of merit, and to the general disgust of the nation, they were given to Sir Thomas Robinson. Still, however, Mr. Pitt continued paymaster, although he might be said to be in opposition to the king, and to the duke of Newcastle, refusing to treat the minister with one mark of cordiality, or to sanction, even with his passive approbation, the draining of public money by George II for his German subsidies: he declaimed, on the contrary, most emphatically, against his sovereign's predilections: he contended, that a few years of defending Hanover would cost us more than the fee simple of that electorate was worth; and ardently wished to break those fetters which chained us, *like Promethus, to that barren rock.*

1746.

1754.

CHAP. L

On the menace of invasion by France, in 1756, his bold and wholesome policy was again exerted
1754. to accomplish the defence of the country, not by German mercenaries, but by the natural strength of the people. Ministers remained in this infirm authority, jealous of Mr Pitt's overbearing talents, dreading to dismiss, and unable to seduce, him. At last, in spite of his personal dislike, the king found it necessary to offer him his own terms, as the duke of Newcastle had resigned, along with Mr. Fox and other respectable ministers, to the utter
1756. perplexity of the cabinet. Mr. Pitt gave in his arrangement; it included Lord Temple, Mr. Legge, and the Granvilles: the whole were accepted. Still unyielding, and uncorrupted by office, he would not concede an atom of support to the favourite measure of his majesty,—the German subsidy: an obstinacy so offensive to the king, and his son the duke of Cumberland, that another experiment was made, to try how the public could be managed without him, and he was turned out, with all his friends.

This change of ministry operated like a convulsion on the nation. The popularity of Mr. Pitt and Legge was increased to devotion: they were hailed as the political saviours of their country. To address the crown in remonstrance would have been judged unconstitutional, therefore another method was taken to convince the sovereign of his people's sentiments; this was to send addresses of thanks to the dismissed patriots, expressing the highest approbation of their conduct, with presents of the freedom of most of the principal corporations, in golden boxes of great value and workmanship. The public ferment still increasing, so much danger was apprehended, that the duke of Newcastle, though at this time not in office, went to the king, and advised him to recal Mr. Pitt. The

monarch wept: he complained of all his servants. At length he reluctantly gave power to his grace to negociate with the ex-minister, and to form a *healing administration.* Mr. Pitt now took the '*cabinet by storm,*' a second time (according to the popular expression of the day), or, as might be said more justly, by capitulation, and formed that renewed coalition of 1757, which existed at the period of his present majesty's ascension. CHAP. I. 1757.

In resuming the helm of affairs, the secretary had more to accomplish than a mere consolidation of parties. It was the whole management of the empire that called for reformation and renewal of vigour. The war had languished, during his recess, under feeble and irregular councils. The unsound and contradictory politics of 1755 and 1756, which first led to an agreement with Russia for the defence of Hanover, and in the following year to one with Prussia, to exclude all foreign troops from the German empire, had provoked the northern courts to shut us out from the Baltic. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, early in the course of Mr. Pitt's administration, was so unfortunate, in the electorate, as to be forced into the humbling convention of Cloysterseven, by which 40,000 Hanoverians laid down their arms, although they did not surrender them. In the whole system of military and naval operations there was an indolence, a lethargy, a want of zeal for the public service, that required the electrifying fire of Mr. Pitt's mind, to rouse its servants from indifference. The minister complained, that through all ranks and commissions this neglect was grown habitual: that the very victuallers, contractors, and purveyors, were never to be found but upon occasions of their own personal advantage. In conversation they appeared perfectly ignorant of their business: the extent of their knowledge

CHAP. L

went only to making false acounts: in that science they were adepts. But for hunting down these

1757. abuses in the several departments; for traversing the whole order of public duty with a penetrating eye; for correcting the errors of his predecessors; for restoring the name of Britain to its high station of honour; and for wielding the whole enthusiasm of a mighty and free nation against its enemies, there was now a minister indefatigably true to his own duty, as well as watchful over others: keen, punctual, inexorably rigid; nor yet confined to the merit of exactness in the detail of business, but exhibiting a vastness and strength of wisdom, under which faction and foreign enemies sunk alike subdued. In 1758, the British arms were successful in every quarter of the globe. In Asia, the French were defeated at Massulipatam, and in successive naval engagements.

In America, Louisburg was taken; also, the isle of S^t. John, and the forts Du Quesne and Frontiniac.

In Africa, Senegal surrendered.

1758. A consonance of views was established between his majesty and the new minister upon German affairs, which, along with the return of good fortune to the king of Prussia, wrought a happy change upon the continent, and which, for evincing the consistency of Mr. Pitt's character, it is proper to explain. Mr. Pitt had attacked German subsidies; but it was not the defence of Hanover, it was the granting sums to Hanover and to Hesse, the application of which was not directed and controuled by the British government, that he condemned. Under the guidance of British councils, on the contrary, he affirmed, that the larger the sums appropriated to this mode of fighting the French, the more effectual that end would be obtained; and upon *this new principle of politics* he

coincided with the king. Thus, after innumerable victories abroad, after the admirals Pococke and Watson had triumphed in the East-Indies, and Clive, with a magnanimity which Mr. Pitt extolled in parliament with his warmest eloquence, had beaten an enemy, the 'standards of whose hosts outnumbered his whole army,'—our efforts were directed to succour *that only power* on the continent which was not leagued with our enemies. Frederic the Great was surrounded by the united forces of Austria, Russia, France, and the empire. When his affairs were at the lowest ebb, Prince Ferdinand's victory over the French in Hanover made a powerful diversion in his favour, while our descents on the coast of France, at Cherburg, St. Maloes, and St. Cas, kept the enemy in constant alarm, and transferred the terrors of invasion from ourselves to them. Mr. Pitt's abilities appeared to the king of Prussia so decisively proved by this plan of hostilities, that he held him, from that period, in the highest veneration. These events bring us down to the last entire year of his late majesty's reign; and never king's reign had a brighter conclusion. Unanimity prevailed in parliament, enthusiasm in the army and navy, and general satisfaction through the people. In America, Quebec and Niagara were taken: in the West-Indies, Guadaloupe and other islands: in Europe, Boscawen defeated a fleet of France: Havre was bombarded by Sir George Rodney; and Brest was blockaded by Sir Edward Hawke. During an accidental interruption of this blockade, the French thought fit to venture out, when they experienced from Hawke a defeat that nearly annihilated their naval power.

CHAP. I.

1758.

1759.

It was, however, in this year of union and victory that the seeds were sown of those divisions which appeared soon after the accession of George

CHAP. I. 1759.

III. For the clearer intelligence of that influence which effected a change so unexpected, it is necessary to recur to an early period of his majesty's life.

Frederic, the former prince of Wales, had unfortunately been at variance with the ministers and politics of his father, during the whole course of the late reign: in consequence, however, of the coalition of the whigs, after Sir Robert Walpole's resignation, the prince was thrown out of their interest into that of the tories. It became, therefore, a struggle between those opposing parties, when George, prince of Wales, succeeded to the title of his father, under the influence of which the heir apparent should be educated. Upon the death of Prince Frederic, that charge had been intrusted to Lord Harcourt, as governor, and to the bishop of Norwich, as preceptor. Two gentlemen, Mr. Stone, brother of the primate of that name, and Mr. Scott, were recommended as sub-governor and perceptor.

While the prince continued under the tuition of these gentlemen, at Leicester house, a party was said to have been secretly formed, of which the names and history are but obscurely known, and of which, either from want of authority to establish the proofs of its influence, or from delicacy in making free mention of persons related to the reigning sovereign, much and curious information is yet required. The princess dowager was supposed to be connected with this mysterious cabal. Lord Bute, a nobleman of great assiduity and accomplishments, who had been lord of the bed-chamber to the late prince, held undoubtedly a high place in the princess's favour: he was evidently preferred to the less courteous bishop of Norwich, and to the proud and unaccommodating Lord Harcourt. These men complained of their declining influence at Liecester house, and predicted disas-

trous consequences to the nation from the books, the principles, the persons, and the conversation, by which the mind of the heir apparent was exposed to be biased. It was to the duke of Newcastle that his lordship and the bishop directed their first complaints of this noxious influence at Leicester house, hoping that the Pelhams, as one of the greatest whig families in the kingdom, would assist them in repelling it. The Pelhams, however, did not at first interfere. But the duke of Bedford, after the bishop's and his lordship's resignation of their respective trusts, attacked, in public debate, those persons by whom the lurking principles of arbitrary government were said to be infused into the prince's mind. CHAP. I. 1759.

Mr. Stone, the sub-governor, and Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, of principles and politics perfectly congenial with Stone, were the persons charged in the duke's motion with being jacobites, and with inculcating jacobitical doctrines. Scott, the sub-preceptor, and Cresset, the princess dowager's secretary, shared in the same imputation. But the motion being over-ruled by the opposition of the Pelhams, who in this affair were said to be blind to the rise of that secret influence which they and other whigs had afterwards so much cause to lament, all was settled to the satisfaction of the party of Leicester house, and Lord Waldegrave and the bishop of Peterborough succeeded to Lord Harcourt and his colleague. Stone, Murray, and Lord Bute, though not ostensibly, were confidentially in union. Lord Bath, and other supple statesmen, were admitted by the last into that inner-cabinet, which, in process of time, was accused of over-ruling the measures of the nation; for Lord Bute was known to coincide with Lord Bath in this political opinion, 'that official men were the 1753.

CHAP. I. 1756.

'servants of the executive power, and not that 'power itself.'

Three years afterwards, the duke of Newcastle was known to regret his former supineness, in neglecting the rising influence of the party at Leicester house. Both the duke and Lord-chancellor Hardwicke avowed that *their wish was now to get possession of the prince.* As if awakened from a fatal lethargy, they found themselves duped by the very men [5] who owed their places at Leicester house to the Pelham family's recommendation. But although they invited his royal highness to change his residence, offering him a suite of apartments at S^t. James's and Kensington palaces, their caution was too late to remove the established intimacy and confidence of a tory favourite. The blossom was off, and the fruit was set.

Such was the cause assigned by those who pretended to be best acquainted with the unavowed motives of his present majesty, for that change of measures and ministers which followed so close upon his elevation to the throne.

But the conflicts of party, though silently prepared, did not immediately commence. The young king's address to the council was full of modesty and firmness. He was popular, and justly beloved for his private virtues, as well as for his first patriotic and affectionate address to the representatives of his people. 'Born,' said he, 'and educated in this country, *I glory in the name of Briton;* and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution,

Nov. 18. 1760.

[5] Stone and Scott.

and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the Divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.' In the progress of his speech, he declared his resolution of maintaining the war with firmness and vigour, till the enemy should be brought to just terms of accommodation, and to support the king of Prussia with his warmest concurrence.[6] Lastly, he recommended *unanimity* and dispatch as the best means of frustrating the ambitious views of his enemies. 'In this expectation,' said the king in conclusion, 'I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious circumstances of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail among my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospect. The natural disposition and wish of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promise myself, that nothing will arise on your part to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people.'

CHAP. I. 1760.

The peculiar talent of elocution which his maty possesses gave additional grace to this popular effusion.

The business of parliament was this session speedily and smoothly conducted. After loyal addresses from both houses, in return to the king's speech, the civil list was arranged and fixed at the sum of £800,000 per annum. A bill was intro-

[6] The promise of vigorous support to the war in Germany, and of aid to the king of Prussia, was inserted, not spontaneously by the king, but at the earnest instigation of Mr. Pitt,

CHAP. I. 1760.

duced (in lieu of an act of grace), humanely tempering the severity of our laws against insolvent debtors; a measure which, although confined in its effects to temporary relief, gives an acknowledgment of the sympathy due to unfortunate fellow-creatures, and affords a promising pledge of that more unlimited mercy which, it is to be hoped, an enlightened policy will yet extend to them. The supplies for the year were voted at £19,616,119.

To raise still higher the character of the crown for patriotic intentions, it was recommended, in the royal speech, to secure the independency and uprightness of judges, by extending their commissions, during good behaviour, notwithstanding the demise of the crown, and by making provision that the salaries should be as permanent as their commissions. This liberal proposal was duly received by the legislature, and an act passed to enforce its *object*. Before the end of the session, the venerable Onslow, who had been thirty years speaker of the house of commons, with great and just reputation, announced his intention of retiring from public life. He received a vote of thanks from the august body, whose interests he had so faithfully served, and a well earned pension of £3,000 a-year.

After these few proceedings, parliament was dissolved.

CHAP. II.

Mr. Legge's dismission.... Lord Holdernesse's resignation.... His offer to Lord Bute.... His large pension.... Lord Bute succeeds to him in the office of chancellor of the exchequer.... Prince Ferdinand's position at the end of the year 1760.... He sallies out from his winter-quarters.... Orders a rendezvous for his troops at three different points, on the Dymel, on the Rhine, and at Saverland.... His own army takes Fritzlar .... That under the marquis of Granby recovers Gudersburg.... The French driven out of Hesse.... and lose several large magazines.... Battle of Stangerode ... Summer campaign between the French and Prince Ferdinand, commencing June 1761.... Battle of Kirch-Denkern.... Retreat of both armies, in November, to their respective winter-quarters.... Affairs of the king of Prussia after the battle of Torgau.... Sends General Platen to relieve Colberg.... Retreat of the Russians into Poland.... Frederic draughts 4,000 men from Schweidnitz... Laudohn avails himself of this intelligence .... He surprises and takes Schweidnitz.... Plan of Mr. Pitt's operations.... The island of Belleisle invaded and reduced.... St. Dominica taken.... The Cherokee Indians quelled.... Pondicherry and Fort Mihie taken in the East-Indies.... Shaw Zadda, now entitled the Mogul, and the French under Mr. Law, defeated and made prisoners by Major Carnac.... D. Estaing's ravages on the coast of Sumatra.... Riots upon the balloting for the militia.... King's marriage.... Negociations for peace.... A congress appointed at Augsburg.... Another negociation opened at Paris and London.. Basis of the intended treaty... Epochs of the treaty... Terms proposed by France.... Counter-proposal of Britain.... Mr. Bussy's memorial presented, including the Spanish claims.... Returned with indignation by Mr. Pitt.... The French immoveable upon two different articles of the treaty.... Messieurs Bussy and Stanley recalled by their respective courts.... Remon-

strance of the British ministry to the court of Madrid upon the presentation of their offensive memorial.... Answer of the Spanish ambassador.... Mr Pitt's opinion of the conduct to be pursued with regard to Spain.... Family compact of the house of Bourbon.... Information of this compact communicated by Lord Mareschal.... Gross instances of the partiality of the Spaniards to the French interest.... Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple left unsupported in the cabinet council.... Mr. Pitt's last speech during this administration.... Apology for his own and Lord Temple's resignation.... His interview with the king.... His pension.... Characters of Mr. Pitt.

CHAP. II.

1760.

UPON the very day that parliament was dissolved, Mr. Legge was dismissed from his office of chancellor of the exchequer. This was justly regarded as the prelude to more important changes. Accordingly, two days after, Lord Holdernesse resigned his secretaryship. No one regarded his retreat from administration as either honourable to himself, or occasioned by disagreement with the court. On the contrary, Lord Bute's acknowledgement of an offer, which this accommodating statesman made to him, of quarrelling with his friends the whigs, in '*seeming* '*anger*,' to afford a vacancy in the cabinet, remains as a lasting document of his craft and servility. A large pension, with the reversion of the cinque-ports, were given to him as a bribe for his retirement. Lord Bute was appointed his successor; and he made the celebrated Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Hawksbury, his confidential *commis*. Things were not yet ripe for dislodging the two principal leaders of the present ministry; Mr. Pitt, whose power was real, and the duke of Newcastle, whose advancing years gradually diminished his influence. The war still continued to be waged under the happy auspices of the former with success. Our subsidiary treaty with the king

of Prussia gave that heroic monarch his usual aid of £650,000 a-year. At the conclusion of the campaign of 1760, Prince Ferdinand was pressed back into winter-quarters before a superior enemy: but, although the French were masters of all Hesse, he sallied out from his winter cantonments during the severity of the season. He attacked the French as they lay in one immense crescent, commanding on their left the banks of the Rhine, and fortified on their right by a strong garrison in Göttingen, which inclosed the allies on that side, and exposed Hanover to their inroads. His troops assembling at three places of rendezvous, on the Dymel, on the Rhine, and at Saverland, pushed through Hesse, with scarcely any opposition, into the very centre of the French, who gave way on all sides, and retreated in a panic. They abandoned all their encampments under Göttingen and Cassel, leaving those garrisons, as well as several others, to defend themselves without a covering army. Fritzlar was attacked by the prince in person, and carried at the second assault. Gudersburg surrendered to Lord Granby. Five of the enemy's largest magazines fell into the prince's hands, containing 80,000 sacks of meal, and 1,000,000 rations of hay.

1760.

It was impossible to keep up this career of victory without interruption. In pushing the siege of Cassel, a pitched battle was brought on between Marshal Broglio and the allies, in which the latter suffered a defeat. Ferdinand, however, had, even after this defeat, a decisive advantage to boast of; for, although obliged to retire again into cantonments, his onset in the winter season had been so rapid as to drive the enemy out of Hesse, with the loss of all their magazines and provisions. He thus disabled them from beginning offensive operations with the same facilities as before.

Battle of Stangerode.

CHAP. II. 1760.

The allies having retired, after their loss at Stangerode, behind the Dymel, both armies, as it were by mutual consent, remained tranquil in their quarters, till the 29th of June, when the united troops of Broglio and Soubise crossed the Dymel, and began their hostile movements against Prince Ferdinand. These brought on the celebrated battle of Kirch-Denkern, where 5,000 of the enemy were said to have been killed or taken prisoners, at a comparatively trifling expence of lives to the allies.

July 16. After this loss, the French were ever afterwards averse to hazard a general action.

As the French army divided after this engagement, a part filing off with Soubise, and the rest remaining with Broglio, Prince Ferdinand divided his forces also. With one division he watched the French Marshal's views upon Hanover; the other he dispatched with the hereditary prince, his brother, to defend Munster against the manœuvres of Prince Soubise. When this object was accomplished, the hereditary prince rejoined his brother, and pushed to the farthest extremities of Hesse; into which country Prince Ferdinand had thought proper to march, in order that Broglio might be thereby recalled from Hanover. A variety of movements and counter-movements took place in this state of affairs, without producing any general engagement; for Broglio was averse to hazard the trial since his defeat at Kirch-Denkern. Schartsfels, Wolfenbuttle, Osnaburg, and Mippen, all fell successively into the hands of the French, who levied exorbitant contributions upon the towns and districts. Bremen, itself, a seaport, which would have given them an entire command of the Weser, was in danger of being reduced into their possession, when it was relieved by some English battalions.

CHAP. II.

1760.

While the prince de Soubise was effecting all these operations, Broglio remained on the defensive in his fortified camp at Eimback. He continued here till November, when Prince Ferdinand formed the design of attacking him before he could call in all his scattered detachments. His highness's plan of attack was made impracticable by the failure of one of his lieutenant-generals; but he did not relinquish his object of bringing the enemy to an engagement. The French camp being strongly fortified made an open attempt inadvisable; but, by turning a movement upon the enemy's flank, as if with an intent to cut off their communication with Göttingen, he hoped either to bring them to battle upon equal terms, or oblige them to retreat. Broglio did accordingly retreat, on the 9th of November, and quartered his whole army in Cassel and the parts adjacent. Soubise marched his army to the Lower Rhine, and quartered them at Dusseldorf, and along the banks of the river. The allies having now no enemy in Westphalia, retired into winter-quarters. The British cavalry were sent into East Friesland, the infantry into the bishopric of Osnaburg, and the allies at Eimback, Hamelen, Munster, and Hilsdersham. In turning our attention to Prussian affairs, we observe Frederic, for nearly a year after the successful battle of Torgau, resting in a defensive position. Prince Henry commanded an army in Saxony, which strongly entrenched itself under Leipsic. M. Daun continued near Dresden, and watched the opposite army. The king himself kept to his entrenchment in Silesia. Two large columns of Russians had now penetrated into Pomerania and Upper Silesia. Breslau was beset and cannonaded: Colberg was attacked by the same enemy, with forty ships, and a multitude of land troops. Meanwhile, Baron Laudohn, leading the Austrians into Silesia,

Nov. 9.

August 1. 1761.

CHAP. II.

1761.

tried to bring his enemy from the vantage ground. Frederic, he knew, was anxious to give relief to Colberg; but the king, instead of moving in person, only sent General Platen with a detachment of troops; and endeavouring, with the economy of an able commander, to make one division serviceable in two ways, he ordered the same forces destined to relieve Colberg to plunder the Russian stores. This last object General Platen accomplished. The Russians, hearing of their loss, retreated into Poland: still, however, Colberg was exposed. In draughting troops for the safety of this place, Frederic unfortunately drew 4,000 men out of Schweidnitz: his antagonist Laudohn, dexterously and suddenly availing himself of this accident, with only 600 men, possessed himself of that place in a few hours, the taking of which had cost the Prussians many thousand lives. Colberg at last surrendered, though defended by the celebrated Heyde; and, to conclude this unhappy campaign, the Prussians saw, for the first time, Muscovite troops wintering in Pomerania.

Mr. Pitt's plan of operations was to give the enemy no rest. He accomplished this year a successful expedition against the island of Belleisle, the largest of all the islands belonging to France upon a European coast. Its climate is so moderate, that all the cattle winter in the fields; and the fertility of its soil is so remarkable, that in the memory of man no crop ever failed. To us it was a desirable possession, on account of its situation for trade, as well as to favour any descent we might be disposed to make on the coast of France. On the 7th of April, about noon, the British armament, consisting of ten ships of the line, with frigates and transports, conveying 9,000 soldiers, anchored in the great road of Belleisle: a landing was effected

after some resistance and bloodshed. The French retired into Palais, the capital of the island, resolved to defend it. It was the 2d of May before the besiegers could break ground. On the morning of the 13th, the redoubts of Palais were carried by storm: the French being thus driven into the city, the English entered in close pursuit. In the citadel they still stood out, till the superior fire of the batteries obliged them to capitulate. CHAP. II. 1761.

Our arms in the West-Indies and America were equally successful. The island of Dominica was reduced by Lord Rollo. The Cherokee Indians, who, at the instigation of the French, had taken up arms, were obliged to sue for peace.

Our empire in the East-Indies was strengthened on the coast of Coromandel by the possession of Pondicherry; while the coast of Malabar was still farther secured by the capture of Fort Mihie, which was taken by Major Hector Munro.

An adventurer, named Law, (a nephew of the famous projector) excited a momentary struggle, by supporting, with a corps of French fugitives, the cause of the Mogul, who, in the preceding year, had been known by the title of the Shaw Zadda. Instigated by the advice of Law, that prince entered the kingdom of Bengal at the head of 80,000 Indians, and about 200 French. Major Carnac, with 20,000 blacks, and 500 English soldiers, totally routed this vast army, and took the unfortunate mogul, with the adventurer Law, prisoners.

D'Estaing, who, in violation of his parole, infested the Indian seas with two frigates, sailing to Sumatra, reduced several forts, ravaged the coast, and did considerable damage to our shipping in those quarters.

Domestic tranquillity was for a while disagreeably interrupted, from the effects produced upon the popular mind, in some parts of England, by a March.

CHAP. II. 1761.

late act passed for organizing the militia. At Hexham, in Northumberland, the balloting for new recruits was opposed by an immense multitude, who insulted, and nearly overpowered, the soldiers and magistrates. It was found necessary at last to have recourse to arms: five-and-forty were killed upon the spot, and nearly 300 wounded. To such severe exertion of military power, the humane mind can but reluctantly assent, even when the occasion is urgent; but when we reflect upon the salutary and constitutional measure which was to be thus enforced, (a mode of defending the country so just, so necessary, and intimately connected with advantage to the liberty of the state) we are forced to admit, that seldom could the occasion more fully justify the expedient.

The king's marriage was an event that signalized this year: it was equally unexpected and joyfully received. His majesty, without any previous surmise or public discussion, convened a council extraordinary, and declared his intention of soliciting in marriage the princess Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg Strelitz. The earl of Harcourt was sent to negociate the marriage, and Lord Anson to conduct the princess to England. The princess accordingly embarked at Stade, and, after a dangerous and difficult passage, arrived at S^{t}. James's on the 8th of September. The same evening the nuptial ceremony was performed in the royal chapel, and was a few days after succeeded by the coronation.

Negociations for peace, which had been unsuccessfully attempted at the close of 1759, were renewed early this year, with better probability of success. The courts of Petersburg, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, agreed severally, and jointly, to offer proposals towards a negociation. France was the principal and first mover; for as it

was her ambition which had made the war so general, so it was her wealth which in a great measure supported it; and that wealth was so much diminished, that her nobility and princes of the blood were obliged to send their plate to the mint to supply the treasury with specie. The five parties to the war on that side had their declarations delivered at London, on the 31st of March: the counter-declaration of Britain and Prussia appeared on the 3d of April. To simplify and disembarrass the negociation, that part of the dispute between the belligerent powers which was purely German, was appointed to undergo a separate discussion: a congress for that purpose was fixed at Augsburg, whither the lords Egremont and Stormont, and General Yorke, were chosen to repair as English plenipotentiaries. The count de Choiseul was appointed on the side of France. The other object of the war, which lay between France and England alone, viz. the limits of America, was to be settled in London and Paris. Mr. Stanley went on the part of England; Mr. Bussy was received as ambassador from France. As a basis to the intended treaty, that principle was adopted, which, in diplomatic language, is called *uti possidetis*, viz. that the conquests made on each side should be considered as the property of the conquerors, and either retained or exchanged, according to their value. It was agreed, that the treaty concluded in London and Paris should be conclusive in all its arrangements, independent of the treaty of Augsburg: in the latter scene of negociation, it was wisely determined to consider only the interests of the principal powers, not those of their accessories and stipendiaries. Certain epochs were fixed, at which the possessory article, which formed the basis of the treaty, should be considered to commence. England, upon condition that the preliminary ar-

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ticles of its own peculiar treaty should be signed and ratified before the 1st of August following, consented to grant the following periods:—the 1st of July for Europe; the 1st of September for Africa and America; and the 1st of November for the East-Indies. From that division of the dispute, and its separate discussion at Augsburg and London, England had the best terms to expect, as in Germany alone she had compensations to give, whilst in all other quarters of the globe her arms had been victorious; so that the possessory article gave her a command of a vast number of places for which France would find it difficult to give equivalents. On the side of France every thing bore at first the aspect of sincerity: to her ally, or rather stipendiary, Sweden, she had made a frank acknowledgment of her inability to continue the war, or to make good those engagements into which she had entered. For this sincerity she might have continued to obtain credit, if her subsequent conduct had not refuted the early appearance of it. Her first proposals contained the following articles:

I. The cession and guarranty of Canada to England under four conditions, viz. the free exercise of the catholic religion; free leave for French subjects to quit the colony; the correct settlement of the limits; and liberty of fishing and drying fish on the banks of Newfoundland: for the benefit of which fishery Cape Breton was to be restored to France, but no fortifications to be erected.

II. France to restore Minorca and Fort St. Philip.

III. England, in return, to restore Guadaloupe and Marigalante.

IV. Dominica and St. Vincent to be in the possession of the Caribs, under the protection of France; St. Lucie to be restored to France; and

Tobago, under certain conditions, to remain in the possession of England.

v. That the treaty established in 1755, between the admirals Godchen and Saunders, should serve as a basis for the re-establishment of peace in Asia.

vi. England to retain either Senegal or Goree, but to give up one of them to France, and also to restore Belleisle, with the artillery which was there at the time of the conquest.

vii. In consideration of these cessions, France stipulated to evacuate Hesse, Hanau, and those parts of the electorate of Hanover occupied by its forces.

viii. That the separate peace might not be prejudicial to any treaties, or disadvantageous to the empress-queen, the king of England should undertake that no part of the forces composing Prince Ferdinand's army should join the king of Prussia; and, on the other hand, that the armies commanded by Broglio and Soubise should retire,—Broglio occupying Franckfort, and Soubise Wesel and Gueldres. The countries belonging to the king of Prussia on the Lower Rhine being conquered, and actually governed in the name of the empress-queen, the French king could not undertake to evacuate them till the close of the negociations at Augsburg, but agreed to withdraw double the number of troops withdrawn by the king of England.

xi. Naval captures made before the war to be restored: however, this was not insisted upon as an essential stipulation, but offered to be referred to the justice of the king of England, and of the English tribunals.

It need hardly be remarked, that the equivalents proposed in these articles, to be given in exchange for the several conquests restored on our part, were inadequate. The sacrifice which was required of

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us in Germany amounted to a complete derelic-tion of our ally the king of Prussia, who must thus have been left to his enemies, and his king-dom probably partitioned. The possession of all that we had conquered in other parts of the world would have been an insufficient compensation for such a derangement of the balance of Europe, and so much dishonour reflected upon the national faith; but France, in addition to this insulting re-quisition, proposed to us, in the career of victory, to cede also the hard-earned conquests of Belleisle, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Senegal, or Goree, and to balance accounts with her in the East-Indies, upon the basis of treaty concluded before the va-luable acquisitions which our valour had made in those quarters. To leave Dominica and S^{t}. Vin-cent under the auspices of France, to be possessed by the native Caribs, was in other words to give them over to France; while to suppose that cap-tures made, indeed before the war, but under cir-cumstances in which the laws of war completely sanctioned a capture, must be restored, was an in-sult to the dignity and consistency of the British character.

Such was the opinion of these proposals, which, on our part, dictated, the following answer:—Eng-land agreed to the restoration of S^{t}. Dominica, S^{t}. Lucie, S^{t}. Vincent, Guadaloupe, and Marigalante, in the West-Indies, as well as of Belleisle in Europe. She consented also to give the privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain re-strictions, with the small island of Miquelon, as a spot for drying their fish. She refused the sur-render of either Senegal or Goree, or Cape Bre-ton, or of captures made before the declaration of war. She refused to abandon her allies in Ger-many, or to pledge herself to grant any privileges to the inhabitants of Canada, other than were al-

ready implied in the tolerating spirit of her government. She required of France the evacuation of all Germany; the demolition of Dunkirk; and, besides Canada proper, all that disputed territory which had been sometimes regarded as a part of Canada, and sometimes of Louisiana. The treaty in India, settled by Admiral Saunders, she rejected as the basis of a new adjustment; but proposed that the East-India companies of the two nations should settle all disputes.

At this critical moment of negociation, a note was delivered by Mr. Bussy, which, though pacific in itself, was accompanied with a private memorial, of such a nature as abruptly to put an end to the negociation. This was a proposal that Spain should be made an accessory to the treaty, upon the ground of satisfaction being due to her for certain captures upon the Spanish flag; for infringements supposed to be made by this country upon the Spanish dominion in America; and for an obsolete claim of the latter nation, now revived, to fish upon the coast of Newfoundland. However just the Spanish pretensions might have been, yet their mode and time of delivery implied so much sympathy with the cause of France, and were so unprecedented in the history of neutral negociations, that ministry very justly pronounced them unseasonable and informal. Mr. Pitt's spirit took fire at the indignity: he penetrated, at one glance, the designs of Spain; and foresaw her meditated hostilities couched under this presumptuous interference. The memorial, which, to use the language of the British minister, spoke its own enormity, he returned to Mr. Bussy, with no other answer than that the presentation of any such extraneous claims would be henceforth regarded as an insult: and he called upon the Spanish minister to disavow this interference upon the part of his court. Upon

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two different articles, however, the French remained immoveable,—the captured ships, and the Spanish disputes in America. Independently of the questionable nature of these requisitions, there was an impropriety in confounding French with Spanish negociations, which offered an aspect of hostility on the part of Spain, and of insincerity on the side of France. The English ministry, therefore, ordered Mr. Stanley to quit Paris; and the leading negociation in Paris and London being thus broken, that which was proposed at Augsburg never took place. The Spanish ambassador, far from returning a satisfactory answer to the remonstrance of our ministry upon the symptom of his collusion with France, *declared*, first on his own authority, and soon after at the instance of his court, that the conduct of the French had been in perfect consonance with its views and wishes. It was haughtily added, that if the desire of peace had not been the object of his catholic majesty, he would have spoken for himself, and as became his dignity.

Mr. Pitt declared in council, that a war with Spain was now inevitable; that the Spaniards had, in fact, pledged themselves, by declaration, and measures so strong, as must ultimately urge them to open hostilities. Indignity had been offered; explanation not merely refused, but the answer which was given had demonstrated a hostile mind: prudence as well as spirit, the safety and the dignity of the state, called for early and decisive operations. It was not only from an observation of their conduct during the negociation that Mr. Pitt was convinced of the hostile intentions of Spain, but by a private notification of that treaty of union, known by the name of the Family compact, which, as early as the month of August of this year, had been signed between the houses of Bourbon; he had

also intimation of a design of the two hostile powers upon Portugal, long before it was possible to advertise their discovery to the public, or to express them even in the cabinet council.' The secrecy of Mr. Pitt's intelligence was as remarkable as its accuracy; it was scarcely wonderful, therefore, that members of administration, neither possessed of this important information, nor of sufficient sagacity to interpret the suspicious conduct of the court of Madrid, should have differed with the secretary in their opinion of the management of this dispute. There were not wanting, besides, in the council, members sufficiently jealous of Mr. Pitt's reputation to thwart him in every plan where a plausible pretext for opposition could be held out. Mr. Pitt's opinion of the hostile intention of Spain was not founded solely upon the family compact, nor upon the offensive memorial. He was justified in his vigorous counsel by a variety of acts committed

Information of the family compact was secretly given by the earl Mareschal, who had served the king of Prussia, and was by his interest with the British ministry allowed to resume his property in Scotland, though attainted for rebellion. He had learnt this secret in Spain, and, out of gratitude, communicated it to Mr. Pitt. The following anecdote was published in all the public prints about a year after Mr. Pitt's resignation.

The king of Prussia, by means of Lord Chatham, obtained the pardon of George Keith, lord-mareschal of Scotland, from the late King George. Lord Chatham improved upon this; and as Lord Mareschal was well known to the grandees of Spain, and they believed him to be in their interest, as at that time he was the Prussian minister at that court, they communicated the family compact to him, and he, as in duty bound, communicated it to Lord Chatahm, then Mr. Secretary Pitt. This alludes to Lord Chatham's being certainly apprised of the secret. When his lordship proposed the seizing the galleons, he was opposed in council, and sneered at, by Lord Bute in particular, and being questioned concerning his information, he, with reluctance, shewed the letters from Lord Mareschal, upon which the late Lord Hardwicke observed, that a halter was once round that nobleman's neck, but now more sure than ever; alluding to his returning to Spain, where they would put him to death. Lord Mareschal was then on-shipboard at Portsmouth, on his way to Spain. Lord Egremont wrote to him, upon which he returned, and went by way of Holland to his government at Newschattel without going to Spain, where he has been ever since. The end proved the information true; and that Lord Chatham's plan ought to have been adopted.'

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on the part of Spain. Eleven English ships, with Spanish pilots on-board, were taken at one time by a French privateer, which was suffered to follow them from the same port, in direct violation of the law of nations, and took them in shoal water, close upon land. The captors had interest enough with the court of Madrid to have them condemned for lawful prizes, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the British ambassador. The partiality shewn, in another instance, to the Telemachus privateer, that had had the audacity to attack his majesty's ship the Experiment, was another act that equally betrayed an enmity to Britain. The Spaniards imprisoned the master and four men, who were sent ashore for necessaries and to land some of the French prisoners, under pretence that the capture was illegal.

A still more flagrant case of Spanish cruelty and injustice occurred in the usage of the Saltash sloop of war. This vessel, in 1760, after chasing ashore a French row-boat to the eastward of Almeira bay, took another French row-boat near Mahon, which the captain of the Saltash sent to anchor in the bay, with a midshipman and fourteen men on-board. These unfortunate men were immediately imprisoned by the Spaniards, and the prize taken from them. The same fate attended the master and five men of the sloop's crew, who were sent with a boat to inquire after the prize, but who were all seized, thrown into the common jail, and treated with shocking circumstances of cruelty. This shameful breach of neutrality was followed by another, in the case of the Speedwell cutter, which, after being chased into the harbour of Vigo, by the Achilles, a French man of war, was on these grounds adjudged to be a lawful prize. The commanding officer in the cutter was tried in England for the loss of the vessel, but was honourably

acquitted by the court, who declared the capture to be illegal. CHAP. II. 1761.

It was notorious, that in Cadiz, in the harbour of Vigo, and at Cabaretta, (a small castle situated in the gut of Gibraltar), there lay whole fleets of French privateers and row-boats, in thirty of which there were not thirty Frenchmen, and in many none at all, the crews being almost entirely Spaniards and Genoese. It is an established custom among all nations, that when two ships of two nations at war are lying in any neutral port, if one of them sails out of the harbour, the other is not to follow in less than twenty-four hours. At Cadiz, this regulation was so far from being enforced in favour of the English, that the French ships were at liberty to follow them as soon as they pleased, while the British were restrained to the usual time. The French row-boats at Cabaretta, which were so generally manned with Spaniards and Genoese, did infinite damage to our victuallers bound for Gibraltar; and great numbers of the French privateers were not only manned, but built, by the Spaniards.

The proposal for attacking Spain, while she was yet meditating, but unprepared, for hostilities, being seconded in the cabinet by none of the members but Lord Temple, the secretary's brother, Mr. Pitt determined to resign. 'He declared that this was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon, which, if allowed to slip, might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved it should be the last time he would sit in that council. He thanked the ministers of the late king for their support. He said, that he himself had been called into the ministry by the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct, and that he would not remain in a situation which made him re-

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sponsible for measures he was allowed no longer to guide.'[5]

The concluding word of this address was offensive; it implied a consciousness of that irresistible power of his talents, of which it better became another than himself to be the herald: he had been indeed the ruler, for many years, both of the affections and understanding of the greater part of the nation; their oracle in council; the very soul and spring of their energy in the perilous crisis of

[5] His resigning, under these circumstances, says a contemporary historian (Entick) was the most effectual service he could perform to his country, and entirely agreeable to the maxims of her constitution, as explained and understood since the revolution. Unanimity in council and in parliament is the glory, and may be called the characteristic, of his majesty's reign; but it is absurd to suppose that that unanimity could subsist, while a difference of opinion prevailed between the first minister of state and all the other servants of the crown. Other officers of the crown, when they commence ministers, may be considered as volunteers in the service. A secretary of state, the moment he enters upon his post, is an enlisted soldier. While he receives pay, he must do his duty, only with this difference, that he has the privilege of quitting the service when he pleases: but, having quitted it, the parallel holds true; for he may be called to account both for the omissions and commissions he was guilty of while upon his post. This is one of the great acquisitions we have made by the revolution. While the minister has the privilege of retiring when he pleases from public business, his country has the power, at the same time, of overhawling his conduct (if we may be allowed the expression). A minister cannot now, as formerly, plead, 'I was over-ruled by the will of my master; I was out-voted at the board; I was browbeaten in the cabinet.' He has an easy remedy for all these evils; and that is comprehended in the single word—resign. This is the only safety any British minister has, and it is a refuge that is always in his power to command.

But a secretary of state is under a greater necessity than any other minister to take shelter in this refuge, because of the directive power, which, by the nature of his office, he is obliged to exercise. Every dispatch he issues from his office is an evidence against him; and though his master, and all his council, were to concur in a measure of which he should disapprove, he could not be forced to put the seals of his office to it. In fact, though the lord-chancellor may be said to be the keeper of the king's conscience, in matters of law, the secretary of state is certainly the counsellor of his judgment in matters of government. He has no rule for the exercise of his office, but an upright intention, and a sound judgment. The matters on which he is consulted are without the cognizance of law, and relate entirely to the prerogative, which is to be defined only by itself. This is a consideration, which renders the post of a secretary of state more dangerous and ticklish than that of any other minister in the country.

war. But to talk of guiding any dignified assembly, where he only swayed by the power of conviction, was an overbearing and proud expression. When we blame this great man, however, for the intemperance of a single sentence, it by no means follows that either his zeal for the Spanish war was erroneous, or his conduct exceptionable, in resigning his seat in the cabinet. From an office so important it was proper to retire when his colleagues acted upon different views: in remaining, he must have either obstructed the measures of others, or have sacrificed his own conviction for the sake of unanimity. Contentions in state council must always be attended with the danger of exposing state secrets; so that a minister may often conscientiously believe himself to be doing a greater benefit to his country, in resigning the reins to others, who are unanimous, than, by the mixture of his own diminished influence and opinions, to produce indecisive, inconsistent, and heterogeneous, resolutions. Lord Granville, the president, reprehended, in council, the authoritative words of Mr. Pitt, but paid a due tribute of applause to his genius and integrity.

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Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple having resigned on the 9th of October 1761, the former was succeeded, in the office of secretary of state, by the earl of Egremont, descended from the famous Sir William Wyndham, and a tory of that modified cast which seemed the surest ground of favour under the present reign.

When Mr. Pitt resigned the seals, his majesty expressed his concern for the loss of so able a servant; and, to shew the favourable sense he entertained of his services, he made him an unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. His majesty, at the same time, expressed entire satisfaction with the late decision of

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the majority of his council. Mr. Pitt was sensibly touched with the grandeur and condescension of this proceeding. 'I confess, Sir,' said he, 'I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, Sir, it overpowers, it oppresses, me.' He burst into tears. Next day, a pension of £3,000 a-year was settled upon Mr. Pitt, for three lives, and a title conferred upon his lady and her issue. Some censures, too mean to be answered, were thrown out against the application and acceptance of this well-merited bounty. By all but the most illiberal writers on the party politics of the day, Mr. Pitt's character as a minister has been described with great, though with different degrees, of approbation. The names of his eulogists are so reputable, that we cannot but reverence the genius of which so many men, the greatest of their age and country, were the professed admirers. The king of Prussia and the abbé Raynal upheld his talents as the most profound that ever statesman possessed. If we apply to his character, as a statesman, the test which, in Mr. Hume's opinion, so fairly proves the greatness of Elizabeth, as a sovereign, viz. the comparative state in which she found and left her kingdom, we have the merits of this great minister inscribed in the history of his country.[1]

[1] His character, as delineated in the Annual Register of 1761, was ascribed to the early pen of Burke.—

'Without presuming to take any part in a controversy, which, however unequally divided the royal council, or, without entering into the sentiments of any faction, which we have always shunned, we may affirm, with truth and impartiality, that no man was ever better fitted than Mr. Pitt to be the minister in a great and powerful nation, or better qualified to carry that power and greatness to their utmost limits. There was in all his designs a magnitude, and even a vastness, which was not easily comprehended by every mind, and which nothing but success could have made to appear reasonable. He was sometimes incorrect; he was never vulgar. His power, as it was acquired, so neither was it exercised in an ordinary manner.

With very little parliamentary, and with less court, influence, he swayed, both at court and in parliament, with an authority unknown before to the best supported ministers. He was called to the ministry by the voice of the people; and, what is more, he held it with that approbation; and under him, for the first time, administration and popularity were seen united. Under him Great Britain carried on the most important war in which she was ever engaged alone and unassisted, with greater splendour than she had ever enjoyed at the head of the most powerful alliances.—Alone, this island seemed to balance the rest of Europe. In the conduct of the war, he never suffered the enemy to breathe, but overwhelmed them with reiterated blows, and kept up the alarm in every quarter. The spirit of the nation, once roused, was not suffered for a moment to subside; and the French dazzled, as it were, by the multitude and celerity of his enterprises, seemed to have lost all power of resistance. In short, he revived the military genius of our people; he supported our allies; he extended our trade; he raised our reputation; he augmented our dominions; and, on his departure from administration, left the nation in no other danger than that which ever must attend exorbitant power, and the temptation which may be to the invidious exertion of it. Happy had it been for him, for his sovereign, and his country, if a temper less austere, and a disposition more practicable, and compliant, and conciliating, had been joined to his other great virtues. The want of these qualities disabled him from acting any otherwise than alone; it prevented our enjoying the joint fruit of the wisdom of many able men, who might mutually have tempered, and mutually forwarded, each other; and finally, which was not the meanest loss, it deprived us of his own immediate services.

'Those who censured his political conduct the most severely, could raise but few exceptions to it, none of them singly, and, perhaps, the whole united, of no great weight against a person long engaged in so great a scene of action.

'Whether the part, which, under his administration, we rather continued to act, than newly took up, with regard to the affairs of Germany, be for the real interest of Great Britain, is a question of the utmost difficulty, and which, perhaps, will never admit of a satisfactory solution: to condemn him on this head, we must be sure of this solution. It has been observed, in favour of that contested measure, that France demonstrated, through the whole progress of the late treaty, the most earnest desire that we should abandon that German connection; no trifling argument that our enemy did not look upon it to be extremely prejudicial to our interests. If he carried on that war at a vast expence, a prodigious stand has been made against the entire power of France: had less been expended, the whole expence might have been lost. How far this part of his conduct was agreeable to his former declarations, is a discussion which can avail but little. He found the nation engaged in these; it was more easy to push them forward than to extricate himself from them: as he proceeded, he discovered, by experience, the advantages of that plan of action, and his opinion was changed. But even admitting that, to attain the ends of opposition, he had once fallen upon popular topics, which, even then, he knew were not tenable, it can form but a very small blemish in a public character, however wrong it may be, by strict application to the rules of morality. Ill would it fare with statesmen, if this sort of consistency were to be expected from the most consistent of them. With regard to the pension and title, it is a shame that any defence should be

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necessary. What eye cannot distinguish, at the first glance, the difference between this and the exceptionable case of titles and pensions? What Briton, with the smallest sense of honour and gratitude, but must blush for his country if such a man retire unrewarded from the public services, let the motives for that retirement be what they would? It was not possible that his sovereign could let his eminent services pass unrequited: the sum that was given was undoubtedly inadequate to his merits; and the quantum was rather regulated by the moderation of the great mind that received it, than by the liberality of that which bestowed it.'

Another character, ascribed to the Irish orator Grattan, is drawn so eloquently, that it ought not to be omitted in the mention of this mighty minister.—

'The secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original, and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His august mind overawed majesty. One of his sovereigns thought royalty so impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his superiority. No state chicanery, no narrow system of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but, overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England, his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed, party. He made a venal age unanimous. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the house of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England. The sight of his mind was infinite, and his schemes were to affect, not England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished; always seasonable, always adequate: the suggestions of an understanding animated by ardour and enlightened by prophecy.

'The ordinary feelings, which make life amiable and indolent, those sensations which soften, allure, and vulgarize, were unknown to him: no domestic difficulties, no domestic weakness, reached him; but, aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unsullied by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system to counsel and decide.

'A character so exalted, so strenuous, so various, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age; and the treasury trembled at the name of Pitt, through all its classes of venality. Corruption imagined, indeed, that she found in this statesman many defects, and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories, but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her. Nor were his political abilities his only talents. His eloquence was an era in the senate: peculiar and spontaneous, familiarly expressing gigantic ideas and instinctive wisdom. Not like the torrent of Demosthenes, or the splendid conflagration of Tully—it resembled sometimes the thunder, and sometimes the music, of the spheres. Like Murray, he did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtilty of argumentation; nor was he, like Townsend, for ever on the rack of invention, but rather lightened upon the subject, and reached the point by the flashings of his mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

'Upon the whole, there was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform: an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority: something that would establish or overwhelm an empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through its universe.'

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Meeting of the new parliament.... Sir John Cust chosen speaker.... His majesty's speech.... Supplies voted.... Pension settled on the queen.... Mr. Pitt's resignation known at Madrid.... Change of behaviour in the Spanish court.... Rumours respecting the family compact spread throughout Europe.... Explanation of its nature demanded by Lord Bristol.... Military and naval preparations in Spain.... Second and ineffectual effort of Lord Bristol to obtain an explanation of the suspected treaty.... Injunctions sent to his lordship to receive an explicit answer, what were the views of Spain with respect to joining France.... Letter sent by General Wall.... Lord Bristol leaves Madrid.... The count de Fuentes leaves London.... Delivers a vehement memorial before his departure.... Answered by Lord Egremont.... Remarks on the conduct of Spain.... Prospects of Great Britain at the commencement of the war with her new enemy. .... Declaration of war with Spain.... Speech from the throne to parliament.... Answer of the commons.... Memorial of the Bourbon kings to the court of Lisbon.... Magnanimous answer of the Portuguese monarch.... The Spaniards invade Portugal.... Over-run Braganza.... Are checked by the peasantry on the banks of the Douro.... Another division of their forces enter the province of Beira.... Debates of the house of commons on the vote of credit.... Mr. Pitt's speech on the necessity of vigorous measures and liberal supplies.... Lord Tyrawley sent ambassador to Lisbon.... Dispute between the duke of Newcastle and Lord Bute, respecting the support due to Prussia.... The duke of Newcastle retires.... His expression on being offered a pension.... Succeeded in office by Lord Bute.... Mr. Grenville made secretary of state, and Sir Francis Dashwood chancellor of the exchequer.... Revolution in the fortunes of Frederic king of Prussia.... Death of the empress Elizabeth.... Succession and character of Czar Peter III.... Successes of Prussia in Saxony and Silesia.... Sudden dethronement and death of Czar Peter....

Advantage taken by Frederic of his allies in the very moment of their desertion.... The siege of Schweidnitz opened.... Campaign of Prince Ferdinand with the French.... Battles of Grabenstein and Homburg.... Prince Xavier defeated in Saxony.... The prince of Conde's army called from the Lower Rhine.... Cassel surrenders to the allies.... Expedition against Martinico.... Capture of that colony, with all its dependencies.... Grenada, the Grenadines.... Tobago and St. Lucia.... Expedition against the Havannah.... Hard siege of the Moro.... Taken by mining and storm.... Gallant behaviour and death of the governor.... The town of Havannah, and part of the island of Cuba, surrender.... Immensity of the plunder.... Capture of Leuconia by the British.... Capture of St. John, on the coast of Newfoundland, by the French.... Recovered by Colonel Amherst.... Unfortunate expedition to Buenos Ayres.... Summer campaign in Portugal under the count de la Lippe Buckeburg.... Valentia de Alcantara surprised by General Burgoyne.... Success of Colonel Lee near Villa Vehla.... Retreat of the Spaniards to their own frontiers.

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WHEN the ministry was upon the eve of change, the new parliament assembled, and the commons unanimously elected Sir John Cust for their speaker; the popular merits of this gentleman justly entitling him to hold so respectable a station. The king's speech, after noticing the happy marriage which his majesty had lately made, and congratulating the nation upon its recent triumphs in the East and West Indies, upon the conduct of General Prince Ferdinand, and the magnanimous efforts of his majesty's faithful ally, the king of Prussia, proceeded to state his majesty's entire resolution to carry on the war with unabated vigour, and to preserve the faith and honour of his crown, until his enemies, moved by their own losses and distresses, and touched with the miseries of so many nations, should yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace. The supplies for the year

being requested in due form, it was recommended to make an adequate and honourable provision for the queen's support, in case of her surviving his majesty, as being due to her royal dignity and her own merits. The interruption of the negociations for peace was duly noticed in the course of the speech; but no mention made of the Spanish memorial, or of any probability that war was to be dreaded from that quarter. His majesty declared his resolution to support his allies; but no promise was made of a Prussian subsidy, nor indeed was the Prussian subsidy renewed. If we consider the events of the ensuing year, the happy change of fortune experienced by Frederic, the new war, and the increased expences that arose out of the dispute with Spain, we shall find a strong apology for this diminution of our subsidizing bounty. Parliament returned a dutiful and unanimous address, declaring, that, sensible of the difficult crisis in which they were assembled, they were determined to concur, with the greatest firmness and unanimity, in whatever might contribute towards the public welfare, might tend to defeat the views and expectations of their enemies, and convince the world that there were no difficulties which his majesty's wisdom and perseverance, with the assistance of his parliament, could not surmount. A pension of £100,000 a-year was settled upon her majesty, with the palace of Somerset house, and the lands and lodge of Richmond park.

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The supplies granted by the commons were adequate to the public exigence. Seventy thousand seamen, 67,000 land forces, besides the militia of England, two regiments of fencibles in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and 67,177 German auxiliaries to support the war in Westphalia, were voted for the service of 1762. For the payment of these forces, for supplying de-

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ficiences in the grants of last session, they granted the sum of £18,617,895 : 2 : 8, of which £12,000,000 was borrowed on capital annuities, at four per cent. with an addition of one per cent. per annum, for ninety-nine years, as a specimen of that economy which the public were to expect from their new administration. This business being dispatched, both houses adjourned during the christmas holidays.

The news of Mr. Pitt's resignation was known to the court of Madrid, by secret intelligence, earlier than it reached Lord Bristol, our own ambassador. His lordship, who had received orders from Lord Egremont to continue his inquiries respecting the family compact of the Bourbons, experienced a change of conduct from the Spanish secretary, Wall, for which he was, at first, unable to account. The rumour of the family compact, of which France publicly boasted, and which she made use of to increase her consequence at all the courts of Europe; the undoubted intelligence we received, of preparations for war in all the ports of Spain; and the still more alarming symptoms of her designs upon Portugal, announced by the motion of troops to her frontiers, produced an alarm in the minds of the new ministry, which Mr. Wall's pacific behaviour, had, for a while, prevented. In his application to the Spanish secretary, Lord Bristol made use of all that delicate caution which his lordship's temper and intelligence knew to blend with diplomatic concerns; and, indeed, a more candid and able negociation than this never did honour to an ambassador, or to the just views of his constituents. He told Mr. Wall, in their first conference, after his having learned, without doubt, of the family compact, that, notwithstanding the frequent, and even late, declarations he had obtained from

him, of the pacific inclinations of Spain, yet he could not conceal the uneasiness it gave him, to hear from all parts, both within those kingdoms, and from other countries, that a treaty had not long since been concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles. He desired, therefore, his excellency would satisfy his doubts, by informing him, whether there was any ground for these rumours; and, in case it were possible, notwithstanding all that had passed between them, that such a convention as was hinted at had been concluded, then he hoped to be told of what nature this treaty was, whether offensive, or simply defensive; what were the principal conditions contained in it; and with what views this sudden and close union between France and Spain had been calculated? For he could neither hear such reports with indifference, nor give credit to the truth of them, without an explicit avowal from his excellency's mouth. Instead of answering, with patience, or openness, the Spanish minister declared, in a passion, that the conduct of England was unwarrantable; that no answer had been given to his memorials; that England was intoxicated with her successes, and insatiably ambitious; in proof of which he quoted the late refusal of the proffers of France for a fair and equitable peace. From this unwillingness to be at peace with France, he argued the hostility of our mind to Spain, which, he said, we only waited to attack, and root out of her colonies, after we should have driven every French subject from India and America. Such views of our rapacious policy, he added, with uncommon warmth, had induced him to arm his people, and not to continue the passive victim which he had hitherto appeared.[a]

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[a] Upon this, says lord Bristol, in his account of this conference, I went methodically through the various subjects that had been started

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The British ambassador listened to this extraordinary language with great temper and dignity. He pushed his question a little farther upon the Spanish secretary, and at last extorted an acknowledgement, that 'his catholic majesty had judged it expedient to renew his family compacts with the most christian king:' but he refused to give any light into the nature of those compacts; and concluded, by declaring, that the count de Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in London, and Mr. Bussy, had said all that was meant to be communicated. Lord Egremont's next dispatch observed, to Lord Bristol, that this last expression bore so unpromising an aspect, as to give the king

by the Spanish secretary of state, insisting upon the first discovery, and a continued possession, of the Newfoundland fishery, by the king of England's subjects; whereas the Spaniards had never brought any proofs to back their own assertions to a claim to that fishery; whilst we had clearly deduced our right from the time of Henry VII.

With regard to the logwood trade, a constant enjoyment of it, for about a century, confirmed to us by treaties, under the denominations of an indulgence or sufferance, made it a legal commodity. But as to all usurped settlements, I had often been ordered to declare the king's readiness to have them evacuated, when an equitable regulation was settled between the two courts, for our quiet possession of that valuable branch of commerce.

Then, as to the several complaints of breaches of neutrality, pretended confiscations of goods, unlawful seizures of Spanish vessels, and all the various blended grievances I had heard of, I could only answer, in general, that our courts of law were open to all complaints; and, though parties might go from thence dissatisfied, yet the justice of these courts of judicature had never been impeached.

In relation to England's views of forcing our enemies to agree to such terms as we thought might ensure our nation from the apprehensions of a future war, I desired to know what instance there was of any country's not endeavouring to obtain the most advantageous conditions for itself, at a peace; especially when Providence had vouchsafed to bless a righteous cause with success. This was the case of Great Britain. We were bound by strong engagements to support our allies, and insisted on being at liberty to fulfil those engagements, according to the extent of them; while we determined to settle our empire in America upon such a footing as should free our colonies there from encroachments, and not leave them to be liable to a repetition of such chicanes, from the French, as had caused the beginning of those disturbances which had afterwards extended themselves into Europe. —*Vide the State papers on the Spanish dispute.*

little reason to hope for good effects from farther patience and forbearance; that it would be necessary, therefore, to demand from the court of Madrid a precise and categorical answer, respecting their intention towards Great Britain in this critical conjuncture. His excellency was enjoined to assure Mr. Wall, with becoming firmness, and in the most explicit terms, that any procrastination, ambiguity, or evasion, would be considered as sufficient grounds for authorizing his majesty to take proper measures for securing the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. It was properly enjoined upon the ambassador to deliver this message without the smallest harshness, and not to mingle, in his conversation, any thing that could irritate or indispose the mind of the Spanish minister. In case of receiving no satisfactory answer, his lordship was commanded immediately to leave Madrid.[3]

Mr. Wall's declaration being again repeated, that no more could be declared about the family compact than had been already delivered, Lord Bristol, according to instruction, and at the Spanish minister's desire, delivered, in writing, the following demand:—Whether the court of Madrid intends to join the French, our enemies, to act

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[3] In the account which the earl of Bristol gives, December 7th, he says,—'you will, perhaps, my lord, be surprised to find I have, in this visit, dwelt in general terms concerning the intention of Spain with regard to London. I beg of you to suspend forming any judgment about my conduct therein, till I have explained my motive for acting in that manner. I perceive General Wall's tone to be of so conciliating a nature; he expressed his wishes so strongly, that some method might be found out for an amicable adjustment of our differences; and was so far from dropping the least word that could make me imagine Spain intended to act hostily against us, that I began to flatter myself I might obtain the categorical answer without the Spanish minister's suspecting my ultimate orders. When I was going out of his room, he took me by the hand, and said, with a smile, 'he hoped,'—but there he stopt. I asked him what he hoped, that I might also hope, and that all might concur in the same hopes; but his excellency only then bowed, and took his leave of me.'

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hostily against Great Britain, or to depart, in any manner, from its neutrality? A categorical answer is expected to those questions; otherwise, a refusal to comply will be looked upon as an aggression, and a declaration of war. The Spaniard was not prepared for this resolute appeal. I cannot describe, says Lord Bristol, the surprise Mr. Wall expressed. He only brought out these words: 'what is to follow? You are then directed to withdraw from hence?' The ambassador acknowledged that such were his orders. On the 10th of the same month, he received the following letter from Mr. Wall:—'Your excellency having expressed to me, the day before yesterday, and being even pleased to put in writing, that you had orders to ask a positive and categorical answer, to the question,—"if Spain thought of joining herself with France against England?" declaring, at the same time, that you should look upon the refusal as a declaration of war, and that you would, in consequence, leave this court,—the spirit of haughtiness and discord which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much, in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, a declaration of war, and attacked the king's dignity. Your excellency may think of retiring, when, and in what manner, it shall be convenient to you; which is the only answer, that, without detaining you, his majesty has ordered me to give you.'

The count de Fuentes was accordingly directed, by his court, to leave London. Before his departure, he delivered a memorial full of invective against the conduct of this country, but particularly, and personally, against the late secretary, Mr. Pitt. One strong expression of that minister, during the first part of the negociation, was quoted, as an instance of the most hostile disposition. He

had declared, that he would not relax in any thing till the Tower of London was taken, sword in hand. The obnoxious treaty with Versailles, he declared, in justification of his master's conduct, contained no article inconsistent with the *purest neutrality*.[4]

Thus France, at the end of so many years of a disastrous warfare, acquired, by her intrigues, an alliance more fortunate than she could have commanded by her arms. She was now, in fact, the centre of an alliance which extended from the north to the south of Europe. Russia, the empire, Sweden, Austria, Spain, and Naples, were in actual union with her. She was connected with Denmark by amicable relations; and Holland, if not disposed to join her, was at least unfavourably disposed towards her enemies. After the exhausting trial of a war, which had heaped on us £100,000,000 of debt, and with a ministry neither popular nor of proved abilities, the renewed conflict with France, under such auspices, seemed to promise no fortunate issue to this country. Against these alarming circumstances we had only to oppose the fame of our former victories, the acknowledged superiority of our land and sea forces, and the general willingness of the people to the support of a Spanish war, in which there was al-

[4] How far this treaty was, according to the count de Fuentes' account, consistent with neutrality, may be seen from its 17th and 18th articles. By these, the two nations formally engage, not no make, or even to listen to, any proposals of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent. Being resolved, in time of peace, as well as in time of war, each mutually to consider the interest of the allied crown as its own, to compensate their several losses and advantages, and to act, as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power. It is true, the nature of this treaty was limited. By the 8th article, it is provided, that Spain shall not be bound to succour France, when she is engaged in a war, in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany, and the north, 'unless some maritime power take part in those wars, or France be attacked by land, in her own country.' This exception of the maritime power indicates sufficiently, that the tendency of this article was to affect England, and serves to point out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England is the great circumstance which is to provoke the enmity of Spain.

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ways the hopes of plunder held out, as an object and reward of their intrepidity.

1762. War was declared against Spain on the 4th of January 1762. Letters of marque, and commissions for privateers accompanied this declaration; but no orders were issued out to detain such Spanish ships as had entered our ports before war was announced: these were suffered to sail without interruption. Parliament assembling after the christmas adjournment, his majesty, in his speech from the throne, drew their attention to the new enemy that was leagued against us, and the fresh exertions of strength it would be necessary to make. The commons, in answer, promised his majesty their full and vigorous support. On the part of his Catholic majesty, the declaration of war was deferred till the form had been previously observed at London; but hostilities were in fact commenced by the detention of our merchantmen in his harbours. The first act of the newly confederated powers was, to fall upon our allies the Portuguese: the close commercial connection of this people with England; their internal weakness; and their exposure to the Spanish frontiers, marked them out as the first victims in the quarrel. Portugal was but five years recovered from that fatal blow,—the earthquake of Lisbon, which buried her capital, with 30,000 inhabitants, in its ruins, and reduced the court and the people to misery. Domestic treasons, crimes of disloyalty and sacrilege, with their attendant train of banishments and executions, had left the kingdom in a state of political debility apparently unfit to resist such an invasion. The only power that could protect it was, in public and diplomatic language, its friend; but, between England and a people the most bigotted in Christendom (and at that period more bigotted than at the present day), there was no such popular feeling of

cordiality as was likely to ensure success to the efforts of the former, in fighting their battles on their own ground, against a catholic enemy [1]. Besides, the nature of our power was, like our connection with them, confined to that element where their enemies did not threaten their security. But, in the firmness of the reigning monarch of Portugal, an obstacle was presented to the Bourbon tyranny, which the enemy did not expect. To the French and Spanish memorial, an insolent and enormous outrage upon the laws of neutrality, in which his faithful majesty was required to break his connection with the English, to drive them from his ports and territory, to join the Bourbon alliance, and to suffer his kingdom to be garrisoned by the troops of that alliance, on pretence of defending it from the English, he replied, with becoming courage and moderation, 'that his alliance with England being purely defensive, and his good-will to the Bourbon courts perfectly unbiassed by his connection with that country, and that his faith, his love of peace, and the state of his people, calling for neutrality; he could not enter into an hostile treaty against his allies to the prejudice of his kingdom, and of his honour.'

This answer drew a reply which shewed the true spirit of the Bourbon compact. The ministers of the two powers denied that the alliance with England was purely defensive or innocent, and for this unheard-of reason,—'the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and the nature of the

[1] Although some of the Portuguese nobles cherished the English, and spoke their language (one in particular, a nobleman of the Tavora family, who, for this instance of liberality, was seized by the inquisition), the great body of the people hated them for being heretics, as well as for the irregularities of our soldiers. Such was their religious antipathy, that, for the sake of congenial creeds, it was proposed, at one time, (in sending troops to the defence of Portugal), to raise four regiments of Irish papists; but the danger of their deserting to the Spaniards, who have so many Irish in the highest ranks of their service, was considered as a just objection to the plan.

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English power.' The English squadron, they said, could not keep the sea in all seasons, nor cruize on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the ports and the assistance of Portugal: that these islanders (whose naval dominion was tyrannical over the whole world) could not insult all maritime Europe, if all the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands: that Portugal, therefore, furnished them with the nerves and sinews of war, and her alliance was consequently offensive. Certainly the situation and resources of a country were never so ingeniously tortured to found a justification for declaring war against it. To make up the deficiency of reason, that was obvious in the arguments of the remonstrating powers, the threats of invasion were strongly urged as a motive for compliance with his faithful majesty: and his majesty was left to take his ultimate choice, of receiving them as allies or as enemies. Antonio Lewis continued inflexible in his resolution of defending his country, and of maintaining his faith with England. 'It would affect me less,' said the monarch in his next declaration, 'though reduced to the last extremity, (of which the great Judge is the sole arbiter), to let the last tile of my palace fall, and see my faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of my crown, all that Portugal holds most dear, and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who will no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war shall be kindled between other powers, with which the former are connected by defensive treaties.' After the delivery of this spirited memorial, the ambassadors of the two crowns withdrew from Lisbon. The Spaniards, thinking to avail themselves of the defenceless state of Por-

tugal, and to anticipate the arrival of foreign auxiliaries, entered the kingdom by way of Braganza, over-ran the province, took the capital of that name, and proceeded, in their unresisted career, to Chaves, Amerante, and Miranda. Such acts of hostility roused the Portuguese government; even the people began to shew their ancient spirit, which seemed to have been, for a time, extinguished in every bosom but that of their intrepid sovereign. The militia of the country, though miserably equipped and disciplined, took the field against the invaders, and, for some time, stemmed their progress towards Oporto, which, for the sake of pillaging the English merchants, seemed to be the object of the enemy's operations. That body of the Spaniards which was destined for this conquest, marched, under the marquis de Sarria, into the north-east angle of Portugal, towards Miranda, which fell into their hands, with scarcely any siege, owing to the explosion of one of the magazines of the town. Braganza, Moncorvo, and Chaves (all places of considerable importance), were successively reduced, till, proceeding to cross the Douro, the peasantry, who defended its opposite banks, fell upon them with savage ferocity, and drove them back to Torre de Moncorvo. It was this advantage which saved Oporto. A second body of the invaders penetrated the province of Beira, and reached Almeida. The capture of this town, it was supposed, would lay the way open to Lisbon. It was at last reduced to surrender: the enemy overspread all the territory of Castel Branco, and approached the banks of the Tagus. During the whole of this campaign, the allied troops of Britain and Portugal had no force that could be called an army in the field: all that could be done was by the defence of passes, by skirmishes, and by surprise.

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1762. April 30.

August 3.

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1762. May 6, 13.

In the house of commons there was little discussion of any consequence, until the recent events in Portugal came under their notice. Upon a message from his majesty, communicating information of the hostile movements of Spanish forces on the frontiers, and a concomitant request of support to his most faithful majesty, the committee of supply voted £1,000,000 for that service. Mr. Pitt, upon this occasion, in exact consistency with his former views, forcibly recommended the plan of vigorous measures, and liberal supplies.

Mr. Pitt's speech.

He began with pointing out the necessity of continuing the war in Germany, and of supporting the king of Portugal. He observed, that, in times of war, connections with the continent had always been found political, except in the four unhappy reigns of the STUARTS. Then, turning round to several persons, he jocularly said,—'you who are for continental measures, I am with you; and you who are for putting an end to the war, I am with you also. In short, I am the only man to be found that am with you all.' He then enumerated the successes that attended the British arms in all parts of the world, and the immense advantages gained in our trade, which, he said, would more than compensate the great expence we had incurred, and which, he observed, was a consideration that had been overlooked by those who were complaining of the burthen of the war. And, in regard to contracting the expences, he entirely agreed with those who urged it; and averred, that whoever should effect this salutary work, would deserve the highest encomiums; but he hoped a distinction would be made between contracting the *expence* and contracting the *operations*, of the war; desiring any one present to shew how the latter could have been, or might still be, done with safety. He then remarked, that he did not find any less expence at-

tend the nation now, than when he unworthily held the seals, or that any more was done. And, turning to the marquis of Granby, he observed, that he knew his zeal for the service of his country was such, that, if he had received his orders, he should not then be where he was. He then represented, that, in consequence of our withdrawing our troops from Germany, Portugal and the Low countries might become a prey to the French and Spaniards: that, in point of policy, we ought not to suffer it: but that he did not mean to bear Portugal on our shoulders, but only to set him on his legs, and put a sword in his hand. Enlarging on the nature of the war, he declared, that France was almost a ruined nation, having expended, in the last year, upwards of £8,000,000, and that she had been still losing. The finances of France, he said, he knew as well as any man in England. One campaign, he affirmed, might have finished the war (alluding to his own proposal of declaring war against Spain). In answer to a member of parliament, Mr. Glover, who, in the course of this debate, threw censure on the conduct of the late administration, for neglecting the complaints of the Portuguese merchants, he insisted, that, so far from such a charge being just, he had spent many nights in considering them; and referred that gentleman to what had passed between him and the ambassador of Portugal. But these complaints, he said, and the interests of the merchants, had been abandoned ever since the time that he had been obliged to abandon his official situation. He then recommended union and harmony to the ministers, and declared against altercation, which was no way to carry on the public business. He said, he wished to save Portugal, not by an ill-timed and penurious, but by a most efficacious and adequate, assistance.

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The session closed on the 2d of June 1762.—Our defence of Portugal, being thus sanctioned by parliament, was undertaken without making any stipulations in behalf of our merchants, which the opportunity so amply and honourably afforded. The British factory had long complained of invidious restrictions upon their privileges, which, at such a crisis, might have been justly redressed, from the relative situation of the countries as protectors and dependants. Our claims upon Portugal, for her gratitude, were strong, since, of all the powers in Europe, some of whom had an interest in her commerce equal to our own, no one but Britain stept forward to interpose a shield in her defence. But ministers, as if to bestow the benefit of protection with the worst possible grace, sent an ambassador to the court of Lisbon, Lord Tyrawley, who was perhaps the only gentleman in Great Britain to whom they could have made exceptions. He had rendered himself, on a former occasion, particularly offensive at Lisbon. At this moment, however, the court were obliged to smother their displeasure.

The vote of credit for £1,000,000 was agreeable to Lord Bute; for his wishes being always averse to a German war, he insisted upon supporting Portugal alone, to the entire exclusion of the king of Prussia. But it seemed insufficient to the duke of Newcastle: his grace insisted upon the double of that sum, in order that £1,000,000 might be applied to Portugal, and the other to subsidize the Prussians. From this difference of opinion, the jealousy of these two members of ministry, who had never indeed acted cordially together, led on to an open rupture. The duke had grown old in the service of the house of Hanover; had devoted his fortune, his talents, his whole life, to the interests of the reigning family; and, although

his temper was neither proud nor irritable, he could not endure the slights which were put upon him in his old age, by a minister not superior to him in talents, and infinitely his inferior in merit towards the sovereign and the nation. His grace having declared to Lord Bute, that unless our subsidy to Prussia was continued, which he considered obligatory upon the honour of the country, he would resign; his lordship (according to the duke's account, sent in a letter to Lord Hardwicke) answered drily, that if he resigned, the peace might be retarded: but he neither requested him to continue in office, nor said a civil thing to him afterwards, while they remained together. The duke went immediately to S^t. James's, demanded an audience, and announced his unalterable resolution to resign, if the Prussian subsidy was not continued. The king replied, 'that he should regret such a determination, because he was persuaded he meant well to his service;' and thus the conference ended. His grace immediately vacated his place, which was filled by Lord Bute. Mr. Grenville was appointed secretary of state, and Sir Francis Dashwood chancellor of the exchequer. A pension being offered to the aged duke, he replied, that since his services were no longer useful to the state, he was determined never to be a burthen to it. The apology held out by Lord Bute and his supporters, for discontinuing the subsidy to the Prussian monarch, was the altered state of matters on the continent, and the new expence of defending a feebler ally.

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This year had indeed been ushered in to Frederic by one of the most wonderful vicissitudes of his various fortune. His situation at the close of 1761 was so deplorable, by the captures of Colberg and Schweidnitz, and the Russians wintering in Pomerania, that his absolute destruction seemed inevitable, and no glory seemed to remain for him,

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but that of dying with magnanimity amidst the ruins of his country. In the midst of these gloomy
1762. appearances died his inveterate enemy, Elizabeth, empress of Russia. That princess, the second daughter of the great Peter, was a descendant worthy of her predecessor for many magnanimous traits in her public character, although her private life was polluted with vices of the grossest nature. She ruled the Russian empire with absolute, but with mild, authority; humanized its laws and manners, which all the efforts of her father had never been able to draw beyond the very skirts of barbarity; and kept up its respectability in the scale of Europe, by the wisest and firmest policy. The part which she took in this war, though, in some degree, it might have been dictated by resentment, was yet consistent with the soundest wisdom. By interference in German disputes, she settled a precedent for being the arbiter, in the disputes of that empire, while, by assisting one power against the other, she embroiled and weakened both. Charles Peter Ulric, of the house of Holstein, who had been created grand duke of Russia, and appointed heir apparent to its vast dominions, proceeded, at the commencement of his reign, to reform abuses, like Elizabeth, and to abolish tyrannical jurisdictions. His reformations at home were, for a while, very proper and popular: had his conduct in foreign politics been equally judicious with these early specimens of his reign, Europe might have found in him a pacificator, and his country a benefactor. But the change of his politics was too sudden, too rashly declared, and attended with too many proofs of a weak understanding, to give effect to his good intentions.
Feb. 3. He declared to the ministers of the allied courts, 'that, in order to the establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by

arms of Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts would, on their parts, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war, but which they could not obtain but by a continuance of the effusion of human blood.' This was so far displaying a generous and humane disposition. But the czar being of a temper little fitted to await the slow decision of a joint negociation, gave way to his ardent admiration of the king of Prussia (which seemed the misruling passion of his mind); and a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon between him and Frederic. In a little time, without one stipulation in favour of his former allies, he went over entirely to the side of that monarch; and a Russian army was seen, in conjunction with Frederic, driving out of Silesia those very Austrians whom, a few months before, it had brought into that province. The king of Prussia lost no time in profiting by this unexpected change in Saxony and Silesia: he succeeded at all points. Our refusal to continue the subsidy was not announced by our envoy at the court of Berlin, till an armistice had been concluded between Russia and Prussia, and the latter had fairly emerged from the most severe crisis of his danger. At this period Great Britain had a powerful additional enemy; Prussia a new and powerful friend: the weight of Russia and Sweden was subducted from the scale of his opponents; that of Spain was added to ours: Frederic had Pomerania and Brandenburg, which were no longer in danger, besides Saxony and Silesia; England had to maintain an expensive war in Germany, and to provide for another in Portugal. Besides the new sovereign in Russia, Frederic had some other circumstances in his favour. The empress queen, confident of being able to achieve all her projects,

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and instigated by a spirit of parsimony, always unsafe in war, dismissed 20,000 of her troops.

While Frederic was thus playing with spirit the great game which fortune had put into his hands, he was all at once threatened with a sudden reverse, by another revolution in Russia, which bore all the appearance of being as unfavourable to him as the former had been beyond his hopes beneficial. The czar's innovating disposition being quite unsupported by talents for improving his extensive dominions, and his untimely desire of combining, in one character, the virtues of Peter the Great and of the king of Prussia, betraying him into rash and impracticable designs, he became unpopular among all ranks of his subjects. The soldiery and the ecclesiastics are the main props of autocratic authority; they are certainly the last bodies over whom an absolute prince should exert an invidious act of his power. But the czar, in his rage for German tactics, was indiscreet enough to affront his native troops, by the marked preference he shewed to his Holstein guards, and by the change of uniform which he introduced, substituting the Prussian for that of Russia. Proceeding from these slight, but irritating innovations, to things of more importance, he seized upon the revenues of the clergy, abridged the length of their beards, and even shewed symptoms of no great respect for the established religion of the empire. Besides insulting his army, and offending his clergy and nobility, he had the misfortune to alienate his own family. His consort, a woman of masculine understanding, was among his domestic and most dangerous enemies. She owed him indeed but little affection; for he lived openly with the Countess Woronzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name; and seemed so devoted to her, that it was apprehended he had some intentions to raise her to the diadem, and imprison

his own princess in a monastery. The hatred and contempt of his subjects matured the fate of the czar. A conspiracy was entered into by his consort, aided by some of the first nobility, to dethrone him. Catherine appeared at the head of the troops in Petersburg, where she was declared empress of all the Russias. Peter, unable to face his evil fortune, signed his own abdication, gave up his sword, was imprisoned, and, according to credited report, died of poison, which was sent to him by the *new sovereign*. The change produced by this revolution to Prussia was, that the Russians, from a strict alliance, passed to a state of cold neutrality. On the 21st of July, the orders arrived at the allied camp, from Petersburg, for the Russians to return home. In the very moment of desertion, the king made use of his late allies: he attacked the right wing of the Austrians, encamped on the heights of Buckersdorff, who, knowing nothing of the approaching retreat of the Muscovites, expected them to fall upon them at the same instant, and thought it impossible to retain their position. This lively attack cut off the communication of the imperialists with the fortress, and left Frederic at liberty to pursue the siege of that valuable place, the key of all Silesia, with better chance of success. The trenches for besieging it were accordingly opened on the 18th of July.

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The continental warfare under Prince Ferdinand was maintained with no less spirit and enterprise. The French army, though advantageously posted on the frontiers of Hesse, was attacked by the prince, with inferior numbers, at a place called Grabaenstein. The right wing retreated before the allies in tolerable order: but it did not fare so well with the left and centre, against which Prince Ferdinand and the marquis of Granby fought at the head of their divisions. Their

June 24. Battle of Grabaenstein.

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whole force in those points must have been put to the rout, had not Mr. de Stainville, with the flower of the French infantry, thrown himself into a wood, where, at the expence of sacrificing almost his whole division, he secured the retreat of the main body. The marquis of Granby fighting, soon after, a successful battle, near Homburg, the enemy were driven from their most important posts in Southern Hesse. Prince Xavier was defeated in Saxony; and the French were obliged to call in their army from the Lower Rhine, under the prince of Condé. In order to complete their junction with this corps, the grand army uncovered Cassel, and fell back to a considerable distance. This capital of an unfortunate principality, which was so often taken and retaken during the war, yielded to the victorious arms of the allies, after a siege of fifteen days, in open trenches. No place of strength now remained to the enemy in Hesse except Ziegenhayn; and that place would have shortly fallen into the prince's hands, had not news arrived of the preliminaries of peace being signed.

November.

The energy of Mr. Pitt's counsels survived his continuance in the cabinet. One of the last measures of his ministry had been to send out an expedition against Martinico, the chief of the French Leeward islands. The accomplishment of this design was effected under his successors. Eighteen ships of the line sailed under Rear-admiral Rodney, having a land force of 12,000 men on-board, commanded by General Moncton. The island was strong, from its mountainous surface, and defended by a respectable militia. In order to attack the town of Fort Royal, it was necessary to storm two fortified heights, Morne Tortenson and Morne Garnier, which were successively carried, with great labour and bravery. Shortly after, the capital of

the island, S^t. Pierre, and the whole colony, submitted to the British. The capture of Martinico was speedily followed by that of all its dependencies; Grenada, and the Grenadines, Tobago, S^t. Lucie, and S^t. Vincent, immediately surrendering; and thus, the whole property of the Caribbee islands centered in Great Britain.

This conquest was but the prelude of a still more important achievement. Both are to be ascribed to the potent sagacity of the late secretary, who planned them, although he was not suffered to reap the glory of their execution. After Martinico should be taken, it had been resolved, in case of a rupture with Spain, that the seat of war should be transferred to the Spanish West-Indies; and, in order to accomplish a capital object, it was determined to reduce the Havannah, in which the whole trade of the Spanish West-Indies centres, and without which it cannot be carried on. This place is not denominated the capital of the island of Cuba: S^t. Jago, situate at the south-east part of the island, has that title; but the Havannah, though the second city in rank, is the first in wealth, size, and importance. Its harbour is capable of containing a thousand sail of the largest ships, having six fathom of smooth water, protected from every wind. The powerful armament destined against this place, amounting to nineteen ships of the line, with 10,000 land forces on-board, under the auspices of General Albemarle and Admiral Pococke, sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March. After steering, with great boldness, through the difficult and dangerous straits of Bahama, they effected a landing to the eastward of the harbour, and proceeded to the attack of Fort Moro, a bulwark commanding both the town and the harbour. Incredible hardships were endured by the troops in this attempt: the earth

June 7.

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was everywhere so thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themselves in their approaches. There was no spring or river near; and so precarious was the supply of water, that they were obliged to bring it from the ships. Roads for communication were to be cut through thick woods: the artillery was to be dragged, for a vast way, over a rough rocky shore: numbers dropped down dead, with heat, thirst, and fatigue. While these works were pushed by the land forces, the navy

July.

opened a fire from three of their largest ships, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough. The contest, however, was unequal, even between these immense vessels, and the more dreadful batteries which played upon them from the Moro. The ships returned, after a long engagement, shattered and torn to the water's edge, mere floating wrecks, their decks covered with slaughter. To dishearten the besiegers still farther, one of the principal batteries against the fort, dried by the burning climate, and the incessant cannonading, took fire. The labour of 600 men, for seventeen days, was consumed in a moment, and all was to be begun anew. Deficiency of water, and the consequent spread of sickness, now aggravated the sufferings of the expedition: the hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them when they looked forward to the approaching period of the hurricane season; when those stately vessels, which had braved so many dangers in coming from Europe, were likely to be dashed in shipwreck on an enemy's shore.

Under all these oppressive difficulties, the courage of the English continued unbroken: new batteries arose in the place of the old, till, by degrees, they silenced the fire of the fort, and made a lodgement in the covered way. At this period, two favourable events infused new life and vigour

into their operations. A fleet from Jamaica came in with refreshments, and a considerable reinforcement arrived, soon after, from New York. But a new and grand difficulty presented itself: an immense ditch was found to surround the Moro, eighty feet deep, and forty wide, for the most part cut in solid rock. There remained no plan but mining, for to fill up such a cavity was judged impracticable. The miners, though uncovered, soon buried themselves beneath the wall. CHAP. III. 1762.

The governor of the Havannah had now recourse to a sally; but his troops fell into confusion, and were routed, with the loss of many hundreds. The miners, at last, blew up a part of the wall, and accomplished a practicable breach. As the English troops, ordered on this perilous service, mounted the breach with great resolution, the enemy, unable to resist them, were either slaughtered or threw down their arms. Don Lewis de Velasco, July 30. the governor, who had hitherto defended the fort with such obstinate bravery, seemed determined not to survive its capture. He collected 100 men in an entrenchment he had made round his colours: when all his companions had either fled or fallen, he disdained to ask for quarter, but died, commanding the veneration even of his conquerors. Thus, after a siege of forty-four days from the period of our first operations, the Moro fell into our hands. At first, the city of the Havannah seemed determined on resistance to the last extremities; but, after a severe fire from the batteries of the Moro, which, from being the bulwark of the town was now become the point of its annoyance, it surrendered to the British, upon terms of honourable capitulation; and a district of 180 miles to the westward was yielded along with it. The acquisition of this place Aug. 14. united, in itself, all the advantages which can be acquired in war: in plunder, it equalled the pro-

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duce of a national subsidy. Nine sail of the line were taken, with four frigates: in ready money, and in valuable articles of merchandize (without polluting their hands with the plunder of private property), there was acquired, by the victors, little less than the value of £3,000,000 sterling.

The power of Spain was yet farther humbled, by our success against the chief of the Philippine islands, called Leuconia. These islands form a principal division of the immense Indian archipelago, and are the centre of intercourse between China, Japan, and the spice islands. Manilla, or Leuconia, is 300 miles in length, and about 80 or 90 in breadth. Its merchants are chiefly Spaniards; its artizans Chinese; the cultivators of the soil are, for the most part, natives. The expedition against this colony sailed from Madras on the 23d of September, and, after some sharp encounters, chiefly with the natives, who came down upon the English ranks with savage ferocity, and died gnawing their bayonets, the outworks of the principal place were taken, and the city ransomed from pillage, by paying to the English the sum £900,000 sterling. The town and fort of Cavite, with all the dependent islands, were, by this capitulation, surrendered to his Britannic majesty.

Oct. 6.

Against such brilliant victories, the enemy had scarcely any conquests to oppose. The French made a descent on the coast of Newfoundland, and seized on the small garrison of St. Johns. Without waiting for orders from home, Sir Jeffray Amherst, the commander in chief of North America, detached his brother, Colonel Amherst, with a small body of troops, who succeeded in recovering the place, and re-annexing it to our dominion.

June.

On our part, the expedition to Buenos Ayres was the only one that proved unsuccessful: it was not, however, of any considerable importance or

extent. Buenos Ayres was a colony from which the Spaniards were able to hurt our trade to the Spanish main, and still more that of our allies, the Portuguese; it was also a station of some importance in other respects. The force embarked upon this enterprise was partly English and partly Portuguese, consisting of only three frigates, two store ships, with 500 land troops on-board. The expedition, which was planned and upheld by a company of private adventurers, was commanded by Captain Macnamara, an Irish officer of great skill and enterprise. It sailed from the Tagus, 30th August: after gaining the mouth of the Plata, and encountering a violent gale, it was found that insuperable obstacles threatened to attend the attempt upon Buenos Ayres. Information being, besides, received that a Spanish force had wrested Nova Colonia from the hands of the Portuguese, they determined to attack that settlement first. An English pilot undertook to conduct the commodore's ship within pistol shot of the batteries of this place; and, as the ship was manned with a high-spirited crew, there was every reason to anticipate success. The cannonading lasted very fiercely for some time; the Spanish fire was nearly silenced, and the English were in momentary expectation of seeing the enemy strike their colours, when, by some unknown accident, the commodore's ship took fire. She was instantly in a blaze. The enemy's fire was now renewed with greater fury than ever. Of the gallant crew, amounting to 340, some perished by the flames, some plunged into the water, and others, lying wounded on deck, put an end to their own existence, to avoid a more dreadful death. Only seventy-eight escaped to the shore, who were treated by the generous Spaniards like brothers rather than enemies, and hospitably accommodated with the relief which their miserable state required.

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The rest of the armament, far from being able to relieve their associates, escaped, with difficulty, to the Portuguese settlement of Rio St. Janiero.

The only remaining object of war, in the course of the summer 1762, was our auxiliary operation in Portugal. In the month of June a fleet arrived from England, in the Tagus, with the count de la Lippe Buckeburg on-board, who was to act as commander in chief of the British forces. The army, which we before mentioned as the third corps of the enemy destined for the invasion of Portugal, assembled on the frontiers of Estremadura, with an intention of penetrating into the province of Alentego. Had this third body effected a junction with the others, the fate of Lisbon might have been decided in favour of the enemy. The count de la Lippe, therefore, formed a design of attacking an advanced body of the Spaniards, which lay on their frontiers, in the town of Valencia de Alcantara, where he heard that they had amassed considerable magazines. This enterprise
Aug. 27. was committed to General Burgoyne, who, though distant five days march from Valencia, took the place by surprise, made prisoners the general and his staff, who were to have commanded in the intended invasion, and destroyed some troops, the flower of the Spanish forces. The other part of the Bourbon army which acted in the territory of Castel Branco had made itself master of several important passes, which were thought impregnable, but were found not to be so in the hands of the Portuguese. In this place it remained superior, and nothing but the passage of the Tagus opposed its taking up quarters in Alentego. Burgoyne, who was posted to obstruct its passage, lay within view of one of its detached camps, composed of a part of the cavalry, near a village called Villa Velha. Observing them to be negligent in guarding their

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posts, he conceived the design of falling on them by surprise. Confiding in the abilities of General Lee, he sent out a choice detachment, who, under that active officer, fell upon their rear, in the night, and destroyed their magazines. This advantage, obtained in a critical moment, entailed important advantages. The season was now far advanced: immense rains came on with the approach of winter: the roads were destroyed: the country became impracticable. The Spaniards, having seized no advanced posts, and possessing no magazines, retreated to their own frontiers. In this manner Portugal, by the wise conduct of La Lippe, and the valour of the British arms, was saved during this campaign: before another could be commenced the danger of invasion was removed.

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Oct. 6.

On the 12th of August, of this year, his royal highness the prince of Wales was born.

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Movements for peace at the courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Turin.... The Sardinian monarch made mediator between France and Britain.... Pension to his ambassador.... Negociators for peace exchanged between the two countries.... The duke of Bedford is sent to Paris.... The duke de Nivernois arrives in London.... Dispatches sent after the duke of Bedford, attempting to limit his full powers of negociating terms.... Preliminaries of peace signed.... Their contents ... Parliament meets on the 25th of November.... His majesty's speech.... Mr. Fox heads the supporters of the peace... Mr. Pitt's speech against the preliminaries.... Unpopularity of Lord Bute.... His character, public and private.... Names of the leaders of the strong opposition formed against him, called the flag.... Mode of defraying the national expence adopted by ministry.... Objections by opposition.... The cyder bill.... Its great unpopularity.... Mr. Hartley's speech against it.... Bon mot of Mr. Pitt.... Petition of the corporation of London to parliament.... Offer and promise of Lord Bute to repeal the act.... Contemptuously rejected.... Address of the corporation to the crown ... Discontent of the cyder counties... The bill, however, passes.... Virulent libels published.... Ferment of the public mind.... Lord Bute unexpectedly resigns.... Speculations of different parties upon his resignation... His lordship's account of his own motives.... Illiberal prejudices against him.... George Grenville succeeds Lord Bute in office.. C. Duke of Bedford made president of the council.... Character of Lord Egremont.

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WHILE hostilities were raging in every quarter of the globe, movements for peace, at first secret, but very soon avowed, were mutually made by the ministers of this country and of France. The British minister has been taxed with opening a clandestine negociation with the court of Petersburg, to the prejudice of our ally the king of Prussia, and to prevent, as was alleged, a separate peace being negociated between the new emperor Peter and his Prussian majesty. Peter communicated the expressions of the British court, which savoured of that intention, to his friend Frederic, and, in spite of all the protestations of Lord Bute, that sovereign never forgave him for the imputed injury. Another application was made to the court of Vienna, soliciting its connection with Britain, which the imperial minister, interpreting to be design of detaching him from France, haughtily disdained. Whatever may have been the nature of those two negociations, a third was opened at the court of Turin, of which the object was decidedly pacific; and the applications for his Sardinian majesty's interference were probably made by both of the belligerent powers. It is certain that the Sardinian monarch must have profited by his office of umpire, since we find by the speech of Edmund (afterwards Lord) Perry, in the parliament of the following year, that his excellency the Sardinian ambassador was gifted with a pension of £1,000 a-year upon the Irish establishment, granted under the name of George Charles, esquire.

Before this negociation was publicly avowed, Lord Bute had openly assumed the character of prime minister.

As soon as terms of peace were proposed between the courts of France and Britain, in order to give a pledge to each other of their mutual

sincerity, it was agreed, that this treaty should not be negociated, as the former had been, by subordinate persons, but that the two courts should reciprocally send to London and Versailles a person of the first consequence and distinction in either kingdom. Accordingly, the duke of Bedford was sent to negociate on the part of England, and the duke de Nivernois on that of France. The great outlines of the treaty were very soon explained and adjusted: the detail of some of the articles took up more time. The duke of Bedford set out for Paris on the 5th of September, with full powers to treat; and, on the 12th of the same month, the duke de Nivernois arrived in England. A few hours after the arrival of the former at Calais he received dispatches from London, by a messenger who had been ordered to overtake him, containing some limitations to his full powers. He immediately sent back the messenger with a letter, insisting upon his former instructions being restored, and, *in case of refusal, declaring his resolution* to return to England. The cabinet acceded to his demand: but the essential articles of the treaty were supposed to have been made up between the Sardinian ambassador and the British premier, before his grace's departure from London. The preliminaries of peace were signed by the British and French ministers on the 3d of November 1762. In the negociation of the last year it was adopted as a principle, that, in case the treaty should, by any accident, be broken off, all the respective propositions of the two courts were to be considered as retracted, or never made; but articles that are once agreed upon unavoidably stamp their influence on future negociations respecting the same objects. This similarity of the two negociations was, however, more obvious in points of our own interest than in those of our allies. In 1761 Mr. Pitt refused to conclude any treaty that should not include the

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king of Prussia. In 1762, the peace-makers agreed that his assent to the peace should not be indispensably necessary; but, to shew their attention to his interests, they offered him a renewal of his subsidy. The monarch considered himself unfairly dealt with, and refused the offer, which occasioned, for many years, a coldness between the two governments. That demand which we had insisted upon in the former preliminaries, that France should evacuate Wesel, Cleves, and Gueldres, and which had been then resisted on account of our refusal to be neutral in German hostilities, was now admitted. The evacuation of Portugal was agreed to by both parties. The affairs of our allies being thus discussed, it remained only to adjust the peculiar and colonial interests of the three great belligerents.

Their first attention was directed to America. There it was determined that a line drawn along the middle of the river Missisippi, from its source to the river Iberville, (a small, but navigable, branch of the Missisippi), and thence along the middle of this river, and the lakes of Maurepas and Fort Chartrain, (lakes which communicate with both rivers), to the sea, should be the boundaries of France and England on that continent. This agreement gave us a large tract of territory included by the French under the name of Louisiana, in which we had never before any property either by treaty or possession. What completed the rounding of our territories, was the cession of Florida on the part of Spain. In this colony there were two harbours of no inconsiderable value, Pensacola and Mobile, useful in connecting any future settlements we might have on the Mississippi with those on the Atlantic ocean. The navigation of the Mississippi was made common to both nations. A point of infinite importance was the ar-

rangement of the Newfoundland fishery: upon this possession depended a mine of inexhaustible wealth, and a nursery for seamen of itself able to furnish a navy. Perceiving that France would hazard the most hopeless war sooner than abandon it altogether, the English negociator endeavoured to curtail her claims. The treaty of Utrecht was in this case recognized, by which the French were permitted to fish, and dry their fish, on the north-east and north-west parts of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista to Point Biche, but excluded from the rest of the island. They were allowed by the same treaty to fish in the gulf of St. Laurence, on condition of not approaching within three leagues of the shores belonging to England. Two islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, situated to the south of Newfoundland, were surrendered to them, in compensation for the isles of Cape Breton and St. John. The French engaged to erect no fortifications on these places, nor to keep a guard stronger than fifty soldiers for the regulation of the police. With regard to the fishery out of the gulf of St. Laurence, his most christian majesty consented that his subjects should not exercise that employment but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton. Spain desisted from all claims to the Newfoundland fishery: in her own words, she renounced the right, if that could be called a right which she now enjoyed.

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The affairs of the West-Indies were smoothly adjusted. To France we ceded Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, Martinico: the fortresses to be restored in the same condition in which they were when conquered by the British arms. In Europe we gave back Belleisle under the same stipulations, with this farther proviso, that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be destroyed, as ex-

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pressed in the treaty of Utrecht. *In return, his most christian majesty* ceded and guaranteed Grenada and the Grenadines. In partitioning the neutral islands, St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, remained to England; St. Lucia was assigned to France; Senegal was allotted to Britain; Goree to France.

With respect to the East-Indies, by the 10th article of the preliminaries it was agreed, 'that Great Britain should restore to France the several comptoirs which that crown had on the coast of Coromandel, as well as on the coast of Malabar, and in Bengal, at the commencement of hostilities between the two companies in 1749, in the condition in which they actually were (1762), his most christian majesty renouncing his acquisitions on the coast of Coromandel. His most christian majesty, on his side, engaged to restore all that he had conquered from us during the present war; to erect no fortifications, and to maintain no troops in Bengal. By the 11th article of the preliminaries the islands of Minorca and Fort. St. Phillip were restored to Britain.

In the 15th article, Spain was humble enough to acknowledge the authority of our courts of admiralty as decisive, with regard to all captures made by us of their vessels before the breaking out of the war. By the 16th his Britannic majesty agreed to demolish all fortifications erected by his subjects in the bay of Honduras and other places of the Spanish territory in South America. It was promised by his catholic majesty that subjects of Great Britain, or their workmen, should never in future be disturbed, under any pretence, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and that, for this purpose, they should be allowed to build without hindrance, and to occupy, without interruption,

the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects. CHAP. IV. 1762.

The 18th article stipulated, that the king of Great Britain should restore to Spain all that had been conquered by our arms in the island of Cuba, along with the fortress of the Havannah, which, as well as the other fortresses of the same island, was to be restored in the same condition as when captured by the British forces. It deserves to be noticed, that the news of our having taken the Havannah arrived in England the 29th of September. Lord Bute was of opinion, that, for the sake of accelerating the signing of the preliminaries, this mighty conquest should be thrown gratuitously into the scale of compensations to our enemies. Mr. Grenville, secretary of state, opposed this idea; and proposed that, as an equivalent for the Havannah, we should demand the entire property of either Jucatan and Florida, or the islands St. Lucia and Porto Rico. Mr. Grenville's removal from the cabinet to the admiralty, which took place on the 12th of next month (October), was ascribed to that difference with the prime minister. Lord Egremont, however, represented, in so strong a manner, the necessity of an equivalent for the new conquest, as to occasion an instruction to the duke of Bedford at Paris to ask for the cession of Florida. On the 25th of November parliament assembled. His majesty's speech held forth the blessings of the intended peace, and paid a due tribute of approbation to the valour of our troops by land and sea, whose victories had enabled us to conclude terms so honourable as the preliminaries shortly to be submitted to parliament. On the 9th of December, these preliminaries were taken into consideration by the house of commons. Mr. Fox, who though still paymaster of the forces, continued to have the management of the lower house,

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stood forward at the head of that party, whose business it was to justify and defend the treaty. On this memorable day Mr. Pitt attended, although severely afflicted with the gout: he spoke in reply to Mr. Fox, who made the motion,—'to return thanks to his majesty for his gracious condescension, in ordering the preliminaries of peace to be laid before them; and to assure his majesty that his faithful commons were impatient to express their approbation of the terms, and to lay before his majesty the hearty applause of a faithful, affectionate, and thankful people.' He began with lamenting his ill state of health, which had confined him to his chamber; but although he was at this instant suffering under the most excruciating torture, yet he determined, at the hazard of his life, to attend this day, to raise up his voice, his hand, and his arm, against the preliminary articles of a treaty that obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies. He owned that the terms upon which he had consented to conclude a peace had not been satisfactory to all persons: it was impossible to reconcile every interest; but he had not, he said, for the mere attainment of peace, made a sacrifice of any conquest, he had neither broken the national faith nor betrayed the allies of the crown: he was ready to enter into a discussion of the merits of the peace he had offered comparatively with the present preliminaries; and he called for the most able casuist among the minister's friends, who, he saw, were all mustered and marshalled for duty to refute him. If the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), who took the lead in this debate, would risk the argument of comparison, he would join issue with him. His motive was, to stop that torrent of misrepresentation, which was

Dec. 9. Mr. Pitt's speech on the peace.

poisoning the virtue of the country. No answer being made, he proceeded.—'He perceived the right honourable gentleman and his friends were prepared for only the present question, he would therefore take a view of the articles as they appeared on the table before him. *(Mr. Pitt was so excessively ill, and his pain so exceedingly acute, that the house unanimously desired he might be indulged to deliver his sentiments sitting, a favour that was unprecedented; hitherto he had been supported by two of his friends).* The first important article was the fishery. The terms in which this article was written appeared to him to give to France a grant of the whole fishery. There was an absolute unconditional surrender of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which, if France continued to be as attentive to her own interest as we have hitherto found her, would enable her to recover her marine. In the negociation he had with M. Bussy, he had acquiesced in the cession of St. Pierre only, after having, he said, several times in vain contended for the whole exclusive fishery but he was over-ruled: he repeated he was over-ruled, not by the foreign enemy, but by another enemy. After many struggles, he obtained four limitations to the island of St. Pierre; but they were omitted in the present treaty. If they were necessary in the surrender of one island they were doubly necessary in the surrender of two. After a few observations on the article respecting Dunkirk, he said that of the dereliction of America by the French he entirely approved, but the negociators had no trouble in obtaining this acquisition. It had been the *uti possidetis* in his own negociation, to which the French had readily consented. But Florida was no compensation for the Havannah. The Havannah was an important conquest. He had designed to make it, and would have done

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it some months earlier, had he been permitted to execute his own plans. From the moment the Havannah was taken, all the Spanish treasures and riches in America lay at our feet. Spain had purchased the security of all these, and the restoration of Cuba also, with the cession of Florida only. It was no equivalent. He had been blamed for consenting to give up Guadaloupe. That cession had been a question in another place. He wished to have kept the island: he had been over-ruled in that point also. He could not help it. He had been over-ruled many times; on many occasions he had acquiesced; but at length he saw that all his measures —all his sentiments, were inimical to the new system—to those persons to whom his majesty had given his confidence. But to Gaudaloupe these persons had added the cession of Martinique. Why did they permit their forces to conquer Martinique, if they were resolved to restore it? and to the cession of the islands of Cuba, Guadaloupe, and Martinique, there was added the island of St. Lucia, the only valuable one of the neutral islands. It is impossible, said he, to form any judgment of the motives which can have influenced his majesty's servants to make these important sacrifices. They seem to have lost sight of the great fundamental principle that France is chiefly, if not solely, to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime and commercial power. And, therefore, by restoring to her all the valuable West-India islands, and by our consessions in the Newfoundland fishery, we have given to her the means of recovering her prodigious losses, and of becoming, once more, formidable to us at sea. That fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of young seamen, and the West-India trade employed them when they were trained. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, France gained a decided superiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and supplied almost

all Europe with the rich commodities which are produced only in that part of the world. By this commerce she enriched her trade and augmented her finances. The state of the existing trade in the conquests in North America, he observed, was extremely low: the speculations of the future are precarious, and the prospect at the very best is remote. We stand in need of supplies which will have an effect certain, speedy, and considerable. The retaining both, or even one, of the considerable French islands, Martinico or Guadaloupe, will, and nothing else can, effectually answer the triple purpose. The advantage is immediate. It is a matter, not of conjecture, but of account. The trade of these conquests is of the most lucrative nature, and of the most considerable extent: the number of ships employed by it are a great resource to our maritime power; and, what is of equal weight, all that we gain on this system is made fourfold to us by the loss which ensues to France. But our conquests in North America were of very little detriment to the commerce of France. On the West-Indian scheme of acquisition our gain and her loss go hand in hand. He insisted upon the obvious connection of this trade with that of the colonies in North America. The African trade would be augmented, which, with that of North America, would all centre in Great Britain. But if the islands are all restored, a great part of the benefit of the colony-trade must redound to those who were lately our enemies, and will always be our rivals. Though we had retained either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both these islands, our conquests were such, that there was still abundant matter left to display our moderation. Goree, he continued, was also surrendered, without necessity, notwithstanding it had been agreed, in the negociation with Mr. Bussy,

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that it should remain with the British crown, because it was essential to the security of Senegal. In the East-Indies, there was an engagement for mutual restitution of conquests: he asked what were the conquests which France had to restore? He declared that she had none. All the conquests which France had made had been retaken, and were in our own possession, as were likewise all the French settlements and factories: therefore the restitution was all on one side: we retained nothing, although we had conquered every thing. The restitution of Minorca he approved, and that, he said, was the only conquest which France had to restore, and for this island we had given the East-Indies, the West-Indies, and Africa. The purchase was made at a price that was fifty times more than its worth.

In a long and strenuous defence of his own measures during the late administration, he enlarged upon our connections with Germany, and upon the benefits we had derived from pursuing our interests and advantages on that theatre of war, interests which had been abandoned, and advantages which had been thrown away. The desertion of the king of Prussia, whom he styled the most magnanimous ally this country ever had, in the preliminary articles on the table, he reprobated in the strongest terms: he called it insiduous, tricking, base, and treacherous. After amusing that great and wonderful prince during four months, with promises of the subsidy, he had been deceived and disappointed; but to make the inveteracy and treachery of the cabinet still stronger, he is selected from our other allies, by a malicious and scandalous distinction in the present articles. In behalf of the other allies of Great Britain, we had stipulated that all the places belonging to them, which had been conquered, should be evacuated and restored. But, with respect to the places

which the French had conquered, belonging to the king of Prussia, there was stipulated evacuation only: thus the French troops were to keep those places until the Austrian troops were ready to take possession of them. All the places which the French possessed, belonging to the elector of Hanover, the duke of Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse, &c. did not amount to more than ten villages, or about an hundred acres of land; but the places belonging to the king of Prussia, they were in possession of, were Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c. CHAP. IV. 1762.

Upon the whole, the terms of the proposed treaty met with his most hearty disapprobation. He saw in them the seeds of a future war. The peace was insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness. It was inadequate, because the places gained were no equivalent for those which were surrendered. He was so ill and faint, towards the end of his speech, that he could scarcely be heard. It was his intention to have spoken to some points relative to Spain, but he was unable. His speech lasted near three hours, and, when he left the house, which was before the division, he was in the greatest agony of bodily pain. On a division, the motion for a congratulatory address was carried by a great majority, and no other business of importance was brought before parliament, till after the recess. The definitive treaty was ratified on the 3d of February 1763. Although the peace of Fountainbleau might be liable to some of the exceptions made to it by Mr. Pitt, yet, as being on the whole, a safe and an honourable peace, and certainly containing the elements of future wealth and prosperity, it ought to have been followed by some share of popularity to the peace makers. Whether better terms might have been obtained, is a different question; yet, it is

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certain, that Great Britain never concluded hostilities with more decided advantages thrown into the scale of her colonial and commercial interests; but in the present minister, (though in private life he possessed talents and virtues above mediocrity), there was neither a temper nor a genius suited to rule the people of England; he was proud, reserved, and mysterious, unacquainted with the means of obtaining popularity, and by no means aware that something more was necessary for his situation than merely possessing the confidence of his sovereign. The effect of his speeches in parliament was never animating; for though the matter was solid and judicious, he wanted totally those graces of elocution which impress a popular assembly. The witty Mr. C. Townsend, used to call the slow pompous discharge of his words, his *minute guns*. One fundamental error with which he commenced his political career, and in which he persevered to his downfal, was an idea of amplifying the royal prerogative to what he conceived its proper extent of ruling this nation by whatsoever minister the king should choose, without the support either of the leading aristocracy, or of the popular voice. It appeared to his lordship to be breaking down the first of the three estates, to oblige his majesty to submit to influence of either lords or commons in the choice of his minister. Without inquiring how far the maintenance of such a political tenet, if it could have been practically maintained, would have injured the public interests, it is obvious, that Lord Bute alone, unsupported by any but such temporary minions as hoped to find the shadow of his majesty's favour in the favour of his servant, had not an arm to wield the executive strength against the great families, as well as the great multitude, of the nation. There is a wide difference between that decent respectability of talents, with which the

world is complacently familiar, and which, to gain success, must court mankind obsequiously, must humour their prejudices, or lie in ambush to profit by their weaknessess, and that gigantic genius which may dare to carry the public opinion along with it by the strength of its powers, and to bear the world upon its shoulders. A powerful party, composed of men the most distinguished for rank, influence, and ability, was now formed in opposition to the minister, and this opposition was openly countenanced by the duke of Cumberland, uncle to the king, who had never, in the late reign, connected himself with the tory or country party in opposition to the court, but had imbibed the whig principles and prejudices in their full extent.[1]

Instead of finding the nation disposed to thank them for the return of peace, ministers soon experienced, that a due sense of the expences of the war had never been entertained, till it became an object of calculation how these expences should be defrayed, and in what manner the people would most patiently bear an additional load of taxes for that purpose. A succession of brilliant victories had kept up the spirits of the people above forethought or despondency; but now that serious

[1] To give a signal to the nation of this union, in contradiction to the assertions of ministerial writers, that the persons in opposition were totally unconnected, and to inspire the public mind with a hope of relief from the all-grasping and insolent dominion of the favourite, the principals agreed to dine together once a week at each others houses. The first dinner was in Lord Temple's, in Pall-Mall, about the end of February 1763; the next was at the duke of Newcastle's in March following; others succeeded. The parties were chiefly, the dukes of Bolton, Devon, Grafton, Newcastle, Portland, marquis of Rockingham, earls of Albemarle, Ashburnam, Besborough, Cornwallis, Hardwicke, Scarborough, Spencer, Temple, Lords Abergavanny, Dacre, Fortescue, Grantham, Sondes, Walpole, Villiers, Right Honourable William Pitt, Sir George Saville, C. Townsend, C. Yorke, G. Grenville, &c. This flag, as it was called at the time, (for the names were constantly given every week in the newspapers) was a testimonial to the whole country that there was an opposition formed, composed of most of the highest personages in the kingdom. *Vide the Account of eminent political personages, published by Almon.*

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burthens were to be endured as the penalty of our triumphs, it was feared that their temper would be more captious in finding fault with a taxing peace, than with a fortunate war. The opposition wanted neither power nor inclination to profit by the public discontent, as it is always easy to anticipate evils from untried taxes, in whatever shape they are presented.

Ministers were aware, that, in such a disposition of the public mind, no scheme of supply could be well received; they, therefore, determined to impose as few taxes as possible. The nation being exhausted, economy was requisite. The supplies they proposed to raise,—first, by taking £2,000,000 out of the sinking fund; secondly, by issuing £1,800,000 in exchequer bills; thirdly, by borrowing £2,800,000 on annuities; and lastly, by two lotteries, for £350,000. To pay the interest of these loans, amounting in the whole to £7,300,000, an additional duty of £8 a ton was laid upon all wines of the growth of France, and £4 a ton upon all other wines: the rest of the supplies were filled up by taxes; some were laid upon beer, ale, and porter, directly, and others upon malt. A duty was further moved, by the chancellor of the exchequer, of 4s. upon every hogshead of cyder, to be paid by the maker, and with certain restrictions, to be subjected to all the laws of the excise. To the lottery loan, it was objected in parliament, that enormous profits were allowed to the subscribers, without any alteration in the state of public credit, and that it gave a culpable encouragement to that pernicious spirit of gaming, which could not be too severely proscribed in every country. As to the money that was to be taken from the sinking fund, the opposition said they regarded it as a sacrilege, for which no public necessity at present could be held out as an apology. But it was upon the cyder tax that the most vio-

lent clamours were raised, both in parliament and in the nation at large; the mode of raising revenue by this tax was decried as tyrannical and unconstitutional. 'Under this act,' said a patriotic member of the house of commons, 'the exciseman is to be armed with unlimited powers of research, from the barn without to the closet within, with an alternative offered to each person thus visited of escaping all this vexation upon a certain composition for the duty. Now, because there is is an alternative offered, this is said to be a law formed upon the principles of liberty; for no man is forced into this excise: the law only compels him, under intolerable pains and penalties, to a voluntary payment. I wish some clear sighted man would explain to me the difference between these two cases. The ministry send me notice, that I shall have a troop of excisemen or a troop of horse (no matter which) quartered upon me, and, in a fortnight, they subjoin that a troop of horse is but (as the gentlemen of the long robe say) a fiction in law. 'If I will pay the sum specified per head for my family, I shall hear no more of the excisemen or the troop of horse till the next time.'

Mr. Pitt took a share in this debate, and was answered by Mr. Grenville: the latter admitted that the excise was odious, yet he contended that the tax was unavoidable. Government did not know where they could lay a tax of equal efficiency. 'The right honourable gentleman,' said he, 'complains of the hardship of this tax; why does he not tell us where we can lay another tax instead of it?' 'Tell me where you can lay another tax instead of it?' several times he repeated triumphantly. 'Tell me where?' Mr. Pitt replied, in a musical voice; 'gentle shepherd, tell me where?' and the debate was for some minutes suspended by the laughter that ensued.

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While the bill was pending, the corporation of the city of London, alarmed at this extension of the excise laws to private houses, presented a petition to the house of commons against the tax; the corporations of Exeter and Worcester also, the counties of Devon and Hereford, and several other towns and districts instructed their representatives to resist the tax, and sent letters of thanks to those members who had distinguished themselves in opposition. Some even entered into combinations to let their apples rot under their trees, rather than make them into cyder, subject to such impositions. The bill, nevertheless, passed both houses, by considerable majorities, though in the house of lords forty-three peers divided in opposition, and two protests were entered against it. When it lay ready for the royal sanction, the city of London, rather to express its detestation of the bill, than from any hope of success, petitioned the crown to refuse its assent.

Thus, by persevering in a measure (whatever its merits were) unsuited to the temper of the times, the unpopularity of this ill-starred minister was aggravated into abhorrence. In comparing customs with excise, it has been decided by the best judges in the science of political economy, that the latter is, in reality, a smaller burthen to the subject than the former; but in customs, the tax being blended with the price of the commodity, is not felt as a tax, whereas excise is immediately felt, and though really lighter, is imagined to be heavier. Yet, against even vulgar prejudice, it would have been prudence in a minister, stronger in his situation than Lord Bute, to have ceased to struggle. While these matters were agitated in parliament, every method was taken to continue the ferment without; the fury of the populace was let loose, and every thing exhibited tumult and disorder.

Virulent libels, audacious beyond the example of former licentiousness, were circulated through the nation: in these nothing was held sacred, and no character spared; and it must be admitted, that whoever first set the example, no party was free from the particular species of intemperance, of which it accused the other. Still the ministry braved the storm, and, except on the single question of excise, their strength in parliament seemed rather augmented than diminished. In the midst of this contention, and while all persons anxiously awaited the event, which, however, nobody thought could very speedily be decided, to the astonishment of all but the few who had been in the secret, the earl of Bute suddenly resigned his place of first lord of the treasury, and retired from public business. Abundance of speculation was naturally excited by so instantaneous and unexpected a resignation: his own declaration, and the language of his friends, explained it by his love of that private and retired life to which he could now honourably retire, since he had been called into ministry to conclude a peace, and had concluded it on the best and most honourable terms: when this was effected, he wished no longer for power. His lordship's enemies ascribed his retirement to motives of a humbler kind. He had drawn upon himself, they said, the odium of England, by displacing a patriotic ministry, by treachery to Prussia, by submission to France, by impolitic (it was even asserted by treacherous) dealings abroad, and by despotic arrangements at home: conscious, they said, of this well-earned detestation, he had fled from a contest which he could no longer face, and hid his head in privacy, because he could not shew it in public. There was too much precipitation in Lord Bute's manner of retiring, to exclude the belief of its being on

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his part a measure unwillingly adopted: his hasty disappearance had rather the aspect of flight than of retreat. Enough of unpopularity, indeed, attached to him from the nation at large, to justify his retiring from office, if such a cause could have been sufficient to account for it; but retaining, as he was still supposed to do, the personal favour of the king, and a majority in the house of commons, it seemed inexplicable, except on the score of egregious pusillanimity, that a minister, still capable of exerting influence, should have all at once dropt the reins. There is an account of his retirement given by a respectable English historian,[1] (upon private authority indeed), extracted from a letter of his lordship's own writing to a confidential friend, in which we find, that his party in the cabinet was by no means so strong as was generally supposed: 'single,' said he, 'in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the house of lords to support me, except two peers, (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret), both the secretaries of state silent, and the lord chief-justice, whom I brought myself into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me; the ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I am afraid not only of falling myself, but of involving my royal master in my ruin: it is time for me to retire.'

The question of Lord Bute's merit or demerit reduces itself to narrow bounds, if we take the history of his short ministerial reign for the test of either: he did *little* during the continuance of his power, nothing so laudable but what a very ordinary capacity could have devised, and nothing so impolitic, but what might, from accidental circumstances, have been done by the wisest minister. The peace which he made, was of that

[1] Adolphus, vol. i, p. 126.

decent mediocrity which did not certainly merit Mr. Pitt's severest epithets, but was as little entitled to be regarded as a glorious achievement, considered with reference to the high career of victory which then distinguished Britain. If the friends of Lord Bute were extravagant in their praises of that extraordinary wisdom which he never possessed, or of those exalted principles of patriotism, which, if more correctly named, were but the common place maxims of a tory; it is still more disgusting to read the illiberal attacks made upon him by such infamous writers as Antisejanus and the North Briton: in these he was accused of selling the country to France, of bringing up Scotchmen to London, with the deliberate purpose of devouring the riches of England; and of hoarding up stolen treasures from the state, for his own private emolument: he was called a dabbler in literature, because he had sufficient taste to have a library and a cabinet of natural curiosities, without being either a profound scholar or a perfect natural philosopher, characters almost incompatible with the political education he had received, and the political life he led. Such abuse from the press, was as disgraceful to the English nation, as the attacks which were made upon his person were to the English rabble, who twice attempted to murder him, till he was rescued from their brutality by superior force.

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Though the political enemies of Lord Bute had occasion to triumph in his resignation, it did not produce that revolution in the appointment of places which they expected. The honourable George Grenville succeeded to his lordship's office: he was the son of George Grenville, esquire, of Wooton, in the county of Bucks, by Esther, sister of Lord Cobbam: he was bred to the law, and, in the year 1741, was initiated in parliamentary and of-

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ficial business: his speeches in the house were always more distinguished for soundness of knowledge, and arrangement of argument, than for brilliant and impressive power. He came into office under the auspices of Lord Cobham, and continued under the standard of his brother Lord Temple, till jealousy of his brother-in-law, Mr. Pitt, broke the family phalanx. The strength of the new ministry was increased by the great weight and influence of the duke of Bedford, so powerful from his fortune, and the firmness of his character: he accepted the place of president of the council, which, for some time had been kept vacant. Lord Sandwich took the seals as one of the secretaries of state; and lord Egremont was removed, in the late change, from the post-office to the admiralty, a man of public spirit, rising to enthusiasm, and universally acknowledged to be one of the best informed of the whole body of the nobility.

CHAP. V.

Publication called the North Britain.... General warrant issued by Lord Halifax, to apprehend its author, printers, and publishers.... Mr. Wilkes committed to the Tower... Speech from the throne.... Condemnation of the 45th N°. of the North Britain by the house.... Question of parliamentary privilege brought before parliament.... Resolved that privilege does not extend to the case of libel.... Mr. Wilkes expelled from the house of commons.... Is afterwards outlawed.... Death of Lord Egremont.... Lord Bute's idea of forming a new ministry.... His conference with Mr. Pitt.... Message from the king to Mr. Pitt.... Divisions of our new acquisitions in America into separate governments.... Dreadful inroad of the Indians on our back settlements in America.... Campaign against the savages.... Fort Pitt invested by the savages.... Peace concluded with the tribes.... Question of general warrants moved at the opening of the first session of 1764.... *Mr. Pitt's speech upon this occasion.... Amendment to the question proposed and carried.... The question adjourned for four months.... Affairs in India.... Mir Jaffier Ally Kawn displeases the English, who had raised him to the subahdary.... Mir Cossim, his son-in-law, set up in his place as subah of Bengal.... Character of Mir Cossim.... Removes his capital from Marshudabad to Mongheer, which he fortifies.... Disciplines his army after the English fashion.... Imposes taxes upon the English traders, to assert his independance of their power.... Governor Vansittart sent to remonstrate with him.... Concludes a treaty which the factory of Calcutta disavow.... Hostilities with Mir Cossim... Patna taken by our troops.... Retaken by the natives.... Major Adams fights the battle of Ballasara.... The Indians defeated.... Second defeat of Mir Cossim's troops, which forces them to fly to the utmost limits of Bengal.... Battle of Nuneas Nullas,... Siege and surrender of Mongheer, the*

Subah Cossim's capital.... Patna retaken by the English .... Horrible tragedy acted upon the English prisoners who had been taken there.... Mir Cossim retires into the territory of Sujah Doula.... Mr. Grenville's plan of finance.... Farther acts of parliament with respect to America.... Restriction of American paper currency.... Clamours raised in the colonies against it.... Indignation at the proposal of the stamp act.... Time granted to the Americans to grant a substitutional compensation.... They refuse it, and resist the very principle of British taxation.... Speech from the throne.... Question of general warrants renewed.... Ejected from parliament.... Restriction of smuggling on the coast of the Isle of Mann.... That island subjected to the revenue authority of Britain.... Discussion in parliament of the stamp act. Colonel Barre's speech.... The stamp act passes.

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AMONG the violent and abusive publications which appeared at this time, the most notorious for its licentionsness, was a series of papers entitled the North Briton. Even of this production no notice was taken by government, although it contained the language of libel and of faction, till its 45th number appeared: it was upon the royal speech delivered at the close of the session April 1763, that the North Briton made those observations which drew upon its author the penal consequence of the law. Mr. John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, a man more remarkable for humour and wit in conversation, than for any talent displayed in composition or public debate, was the known author of this anonymous performance: his writings and his name might have been overlooked in the vulgar multitude of politicians, who contended for their different parties during this period of intemperate discussion, had not the peculiar circumstances into which he forced himself, and the patronage which was procured to him by the great vivacity of his

manners, procured him distinction. The great questions of civil right which he brought into discussion in his opposition to ministry, arrested the attention of the nation; an importance was thus conferred upon the demagogue, to which neither his moral nor intellectual worth was entitled. The contest which he maintained with government, was, however, of too much consequence, as it affected the interpretation of the liberties of Englishmen, to be passed over without exciting a lively interest in its issue. CHAP. V. 1763.

On the 30th of April 1763, a warrant was issued by Lord Hallifax, to take up the authors, printers, and publishers, of a seditious and treasonable paper called the North Briton, No. 45. This was, in the language of the law, a general warrant, since no individual was specified as author or publisher, and the officers of justice were guided to lay hold of Mr. Wilkes only by common report of his guilt. The persons employed on this occasion, having in vain summoned him to follow them on their first visit to his house, and not considering themselves entitled to use forcible means, deferred seizing him till next morning, when he was arrested upon this general writ, and compelled to appear before Lord Hallifax; from thence he was committed to the Tower, his papers being previously seized and sealed, and all access to his person strictly prohibited. On the 6th of May, Mr. Wilkes, on an habeas corpus being moved for at Westminster hall, was released without bail, by the court of common pleas. Lord-chief-justice Pratt presided on this occasion: his objection to Mr. Wilkes' imprisonment did not rest upon the general nature of the warrant, nor on the want of specification of those particular passages in the 45th number of the North Briton, which were deemed libellous, but upon the privilege of parliament, which could be forfeited only by treason, felony,

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or actual breach of the peace. The popular party were elated by this success: mobs attended the prisoner with acclamations. Under these very moderate sufferings, he was regarded as the martyr of liberty. Other persons, who had been arrested by warrants of the same nature, which, from various circumstances, afforded matter of complaint, now became prosecutors of those who had imprisoned them: in seeking redress at law, they were so fortunate to find, in general, juries disposed to give them serious damages.

The speech from the throne, in the following November, spoke with strong indignation of the attempts which had been made to divide the people. Both houses made as ample a return as could be wished upon this article, as well as upon the peace, which they connected with it. But before these addresses could be formed, a complaint was laid before the commons, according to the usual course, where any criminal process has been issued against a member, in a message from government, informing them of the supposed offence of Mr. Wilkes, and of the proceedings against him.

The chancellor of exchequer, Mr. Grenville, who delivered this message, stated, in accusation of Mr. Wilkes, that 'having been discharged out of custody by the court of common pleas, upon account of his privilege, and being called upon by the legal process of the court of king's bench, he had stood out and declined to appear. His majesty,' continued the chancellor, 'being in this situation desirous to shew all possible attention to the privileges of the house of commons, at the same time, *thinking it of the utmost consequence* not to suffer the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, chose to direct the said libel, with the copies of the combinations upon which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended, to be laid before the house for their consideration.' The paper en-

titled No. 45 of the North Briton, was, after no very long debate, voted a false, scandalous, and seditious libel: it was condemned, by the same vote, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Mr. Wilkes, who had several times attempted to speak during the course of this discussion, at last obtained a hearing, and after describing at length the proceedings of government against him, which he considered unconstitutional and tyrannical, willingly submitted the question of his parliamentary privilege to the decision of the house. In the course of the debate, Mr. Martin, a member of parliament, called the anonymous author of the North Briton, a scoundrel and a coward. Mr. Wilkes accordingly acknowledged himself the author, and sent Mr. Martin a challenge: a duel was fought next day, in which Mr. Wilkes was wounded; by which accident he was prevented from attending parliament at next session; and during the adjournment of the Christmas holidays he withdrew to France. CHAP. V. 1763.

It must be observed, that in favour of Mr. Wilkes the wishes of many respectable persons were strongly interested, who neither sympathized with his political views, nor by any means approved of his conduct. He had his friends, it is true, his strenuous and decided partizans, who would have followed him in the wildest projects of his ambition, and who worshipped him with fervour, as the persecuted apostle of liberty; but these were of the lower class of politicians, in rank, fortune, intellect, and influence.[1] But there was a more respectable class in the opposition, who conceived, that the crown prosecution against him was unconstitutionally maintained; that his commitment by a general warrant was a breach of the liberties

[1] Mr. Wilkes, speaking in facetious contempt of one of the weak-minded followers of his party, said, he is a poor creature; he is too much of a *Wilkite*. 3

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of the subject, and his imprisonment, in spite of privilege, a still more culpable violation of law, since it made war upon the sacred rights of the representatives of a free people. It was in defence, therefore, of the constitution, not of Mr. Wilkes, that they stemmed the torrent of ministerial measures, even though exerted against an individual worthy of prosecution, if conducted in a legal manner. The first debate upon Mr. Wilkes' case accordingly brought forward but few of such defenders, as it related chiefly to the charge which was laid to him of treating the name of majesty with disrespect, in the paper declared to be a libel. Administration profiting by the general disapprobation of his conduct, originated a discussion at the next meeting of parliament, which, however, connected in the present instance with the name of this delinquent, was of wide and important consequence, as affecting the privilege of the two great bodies of the legislature. The question submitted to the house on the 15th of November, regarded the point in law lately decided by the chief-justice Pratt. It was thus worded:—'That privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence.' The opposition made a vigorous stand against this proposal, upon the ground of established laws and the acknowledged principles of the constitution: the question itself, admitted a right of privilege to exist; and that admitted right, not by obscure interpretation, but by the strictest definition of the best masters of the law, clearly comprehended the crime of writing a libel, as one of the offences by which privilege was not forfeited: the privilege of parliament extends to all offences, except treason, felony, and those offences in which surities for the peace were re-

quired. Writing a libel is not treason; it does not come under the denomination of felony; and sureties for the peace were not usually demanded in the case of libel: libel is only a breach of the peace by inference and construction, and is described in law, 'as tending to disturb the peace, not as the act itself of disturbing.' The consequences of the present bill was pronounced, by opposition, to be subversive of all past rules, by which the judgments of courts of justice had been directed, and calculated to introduce confusion in all future decisions: if admitted to affect this constructive breach of the peace, the bill, they asserted, might be turned with facility to all cases of constructive breaches of the peace. The two houses, upon a complaint being made, have it always in their power to deliver up a criminal to the call of offended justice, which it was an indignity to suppose they would not readily do. In this debate, and in favour of these arguments, Mr. Pitt spoke at some length.

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No man, he said, could condemn the North Briton more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly, not by an open breach of the constitution, and a contempt of all restraint. This proposed sacrifice of privilege, was putting every member of parliament who did not vote with the minister, under a perpetual terror of imprisonment. To talk of an abuse of privilege, was to talk against the constitution, against the very being and life of parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice of parliament, to suppose they would protect any criminal whatever. Wherever a complaint was made against any member, the house would give him up: this privilege had never been abused; it had been reposed in parliament for ages; but take away this privilege, and the whole parliament is laid at the mercy of the crown. This privilege having never been abused, why then is it voted away?

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Parliament, he said, had no right to vote away its privileges. They were the inherent right of the succeeding members of that house, as well as of the present; and he doubted whether the sacrifice made by that house, was valid and conclusive against the claim of a future parliament. With respect to the North Briton, which had given a pretext for this request to surrender the privileges of parliament, the house had already voted it a libel; he joined in that vote; he condemned the whole series of North Britons; he called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable; he abhorred all national reflections. The king's subjects were one people; whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. His majesty's complaint was well founded; it was just, it was necessary: the author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species; he was the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his king: he had no connection with him; he had no connection with any such writer; he neither associated nor communicated with any such. It was true that he had friendships, and warm ones; he had obligations, and great ones; but no friendships, no obligations, could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed that he alluded to his noble relation, Lord Temple; he was proud to call him his relation; he was his friend, his bosom friend, whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue: they went into office together, and they came out together; they had lived together, and would die together. He knew nothing of any connection with the writer of the libel; if there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it.[1] The dignity, the honour, of

[1] Mr. Pitt's unblemished veracity can leave no doubt of his believing what he spoke on this occasion with regard to Lord Temple; but it seems strange, that he should not have known with certainty the connection that subsisted between his own brother-in-law and Mr.

parliament had been called upon to protect and support the purity of his majesty's character, and this they had done, by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel which his majesty had submitted to the consideration of the house; but having done this, it was neither consistent with the honour and safety of parliament, nor with the rights and interests of the people, to go one step farther; the rest belonged to the courts below.'

In both houses, the resolution met with a spirited resistance; seventeen respectable names in the upper house were affixed to a protest against it.

Having declared the North Briton a libel, the commons proceeded in the charge against Mr. Wilkes as its author. He had withdrawn into France after his duel with Mr. Martin, where he waited, under pretence of curing his wound, but

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Wilkes. It was the liberality of his lordship's purse which carried on the several law-suits of Mr. Wilkes against the king's messengers and others. It was his munificence and activity which decided this cause in favour of the plaintiff, who must otherwise have sunk beneath the weight of ministerial influence. When Mr. Wilkes was committed, his Lordship offered to bail him in any sum; if £100,000 were required, he declared his recognizance was ready. This public espousal of Mr. Wilkes brought upon him the most distinguished marks of ministerial indignation. Mr. Wilkes employed the time between his enlargement from the Tower and the meeting of parliament, in printing the North Briton in his house: this circumstance gave Lord Temple much concern; he begged Mr. Wilkes to lay aside the design; but Mr. Wilkes alleged in his excuse, that many of his friends had desired to subscribe for a neat and correct copy of it. When parliament met, the bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Warburton, suddenly rose in the house of lords, and complained of a breach of privilege, his name being printed to a note in an obscene poem, called an Essay on Women, a few copies of which had been printed by Mr. Wilkes, at the press in his own house. This complaint perfectly astonished Lord Temple; he knew nothing of this poem, but, when he heard that it came from Mr. Wilkes's private press, he was so sensibly affected, that he was obliged to leave the house. Upon the charge of the North Briton, he had prepared to defend that paper, and also the conduct of Lord-chief-justice Pratt, for discharging Mr. Wilkes as a member of parliament. It appears, however, from letters from Lord Temple to his unworthy protegé, that his lordship by no means approved indiscriminately of the North Briton; for in these letters he was found to have reprehended him for several objectional passages.

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more probably to watch a more favourable change of administration. Medical certificates arrived from Paris on the day fixed for his trial in parliament, stating that his health was not sufficient for undergoing a journey; but, as the removal to France had been entirely voluntary on his part, and as surgeons appointed by parliament to examine the state of his wounds had been refused admittance to him, his apology was not received. The evidence appearing to prove satisfactorily, that he was author of the libel laid to his charge, the question of his expulsion was carried, with a very small division in his favour.

The popularity of Mr. Wilkes declined very fast after his expulsion from parliament, on the discovery of his being author of a foul and profane production, entitled, an Essay on Women: the peers proceeded against him for breach of privilege, and the inferior courts prosecuted him for blasphemy; and now expelled from one house, censured by the other, and under a double prosecution for libel and blasphemy, many of his friends began to abandon him; even the populace, though they did not disrelish faction, could not digest prophaneness. Mr. Wilkes was soon run to an outlawry, for not appearing to the indictments against him.

Aug. 1763. Towards the end of the summer (1763), ministry found their strength unexpectedly diminished by the sudden death of the earl of Egremont, whose abilities were by far the most distinguished in their cabinet. Lord Bute, either ashamed of the weakness of an administration of which he was supposed to have been the maker, or desirous of doing the king a personal service by giving him another which should be more popular, or perhaps expecting to redeem his own lost popularity by a broad and powerful coalition of parties, pro-

posed to unite the nation by calling in its great favourite: for this purpose, he sent one of his friends as a messenger to Mr. Alderman Beckford, soliciting the alderman's interest with Mr. Pitt, to procure an interview between his lordship and that gentleman: they met at Mr. Pitt's house in Jermyn-street. Lord Bute, after the first compliments, acknowledged frankly that the present ministry could not go on; that the king was convinced of it; and, therefore, his lordship requested that Mr. Pitt would, with the same frankness, and at full length, give him his opinion of the measures and characters now exhibited in the political world. Mr. Pitt did so, with some reluctance, and great civility. Lord Bute heard him very patiently, entering into no defence, but said, at the conclusion of his remarks,—'if these are your opinions, why should you not tell them to the king himself, who will not be unwilling to hear you?' 'How can I, my lord,' answered Mr. Pitt, 'presume to go to the king, who am not of his council, nor in his service, and have no pretence to ask an audience? the presumption would be too great.' 'But suppose his majesty,' replied his lordship, 'should order you to attend him, I presume, sir, you would not refuse it?' Mr. Pitt said,—'the king's command would make it my duty, and I should certainly obey it.' Next day he received an open unsealed note from the king, requiring him to attend his majesty on Saturday noon at the queen's palace in the park. To avoid exciting in his brethren in opposition the slightest suspicion of dealing clandestinely with the court, Mr. Pitt went, on Saturday, at noon-day, through the Mall, in his gouty chair; the boot of which, as he said himself, made it as well known as if his name was written upon it. The audience lasted three hours. Mr. Pitt went through the whole substance of his

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former remarks to Lord Bute, in the general and the most material of which his majesty seemed to him, by his manner, to acquiesce. The topics of Mr. Pitt's animadversion were chiefly—'the infirmities of the peace; the measures to be observed for improving and preserving it; and the necessity for restoring those great whig families who had been driven from his majesty's councils and service. The king seemed pleased with his frankness, and bid him go on, but observed now and then, that his *honour was engaged.* He invited him to renew the conversation on next Monday. Mr. Pitt, fully persuaded that matters were to be arranged for a new administration, acquainted the duke of Newcastle, the duke of Devonshire, and the marquis of Rockingham, and others who were expected to join the cabinet, with his Saturday's conference, and the aspect of his majesty's intentions. On Monday the same flattering prospect was exhibited during the first part of their conversation, till, from some proposals on the part of the royal personage, Mr. Pitt found it necessary to say,—'Sir, the person whom you shall think fit to honour with the chief conduct of your affairs, cannot possibly go on without a treasury; but that alone will do nothing; it cannot be supported without the great families who have supported the revolution government, and other great persons, of whose abilities the nation have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your majesty, if I should leave you in an opinion that I could go on any other footing.' The king concluded the interview by saying, 'my honour is engaged, and I must support it.' Two days after, Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple waited at S^t. James's, to pay their respects to his majesty: they were graciously received. His majesty said

to the latter, in the kindest manner, *that he hoped he had not suffered by standing so long on Monday.* Upon this occasion, Mr. Pitt observed, to his friends,—'*his majesty is the greatest courtier in his court.*' Thus terminated, without any open rupture, a promising negociation, which, if carried into effect, might have restored strength to the government, unanimity among the people, and eventually prevented the train of evils which arose during the subsequent part of Mr. Grenville's continuance in office. The only explanation of its failure that has ever been given, is the expression already mentioned of his majesty,—'that his honour was engaged.' Mr. Pitt said, he knew not upon what point the negociation failed, and that he believed both Lord Bute and the king had been at first in earnest; but that on the Sunday intervening between the two conferences, strong measures had been used to prevent their consummation.

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While the nation was thus engaged in the domestic warfare of party politics, a dreadful inroad was made upon our colonies, by an enemy equally unexpected and terrible. Our new acquisitions in America had been divided into three separate and independent governments: of these, the most northerly was called the government of Quebec, bounded on Labrador by the river St. John, or Saguenay, as far as the lake of St. John; the western boundary was an imaginary line, drawn from that lake to another called Nipisim; to determine the southern boundary, an imaginary line was conceived, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain, in 45 degrees of north latitude; from thence, it was carried quite to the gulf of St. Lawrence, through the high lands which separate those rivers that fall into the great river of Canada, from those

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which fall into the ocean. Our southern conquests were divided into east and west Florida, the former bounded on the north-east by Georgia, to the east and south by the Atlantic ocean and the gulf of Florida, and to the west by the river Apalichola; the same river bounded West Florida on the east; the gulf of Mexico to the lake Pontchartrain, was its southern frontier; the Mississippi, to the 31st degree of latitude, formed a boundary on the west, from which a line was drawn across, due east, for the northern limit, till it met the river Apalichola. All the coast of Labradore, from the river Saguenay to Hudson's straits, and the neighbouring island, a territory solely indebted to fishing for its great value, was judiciously subjected to the governor of Newfoundland; but the islands of St. John and Cape Breton were annexed to Nova Scotia. Under these governments, no mention was made of all the environs of the great lakes, the fine countries on the Ohio and Ouabache, and the tract of Louisiana, lying on the hither branch of the Mississippi. A politic deference for the Indians was supposed to be the principal motive of this omission. The royal proclamation in October 1763 forbade any settlements beyond the heads of those rivers which fall from the west into the Atlantic ocean, the crown alone retaining a right of purchase from the natives. In the meantime, no means were omitted to improve those parts which we could perfectly command. To encourage those brave men, whose valour had contributed to our empire in America, lots of land were offered to them, in due proportion to their rank in the army or navy: field officers received 5,000 acres, captains 3,000, subalterns 2,000, non-commissioned officers 200, and every private seaman and soldier 50. For securing these recent settlements, a military force

of 10,000 men was established to serve in this country and the West Indies. CHAP. V. 1763.

Unhappily the Indian nations, who had seen the French power annihilated in America, regarded the change that was likely to follow our sole dominion of their frontiers, with jealousy and regret. The policy, the superior address, of our enemies, had gained a decided preference among those barbarous people, over the less accommodating manners of English settlers; nor was the ruggedness of the latter accompanied by any fairness in dealing. It appears, on the contrary, from undoubted evidence, that a series of encroachments and injuries had been endured by the natives, over which our distant government could scarcely pretend to watch; or if it did, to administer retribution with sufficient promptitude to allay the feelings of an offended savage. The Indians were farther alarmed at seeing us possess a chain of forts on the south of lake Erie, which secured all communications with the Ohio and the Mississippi; the communication between higher and lower America was equally in our power, by possessing the Detroit. In every little garrison, they saw the germ of a future colony, while the hunting ground that was left to them was threatened with daily diminution, and was already scarcely sufficient for their vagrant life, and for enjoying the desultory spoils of the chace:—such immense deserts does it require to feed a few tribes of savages that subsist by hunting. A rumour went abroad among all those who inhabit the frontiers which we have now described, that a plan was laid by the Americans for their extirpation. Ignorant and ferocious, they determined to anticipate the suspected hostility, by a general inroad of their horrible warfare: those on the Ohio took the lead, when the plan of their hostilities had been fairly

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settled, which, fortunately for the colonies, did not succeed to its utmost intended extent, owing to the precipitancy of some of their warriors; they sallied out with the torch and the tomahawk, sparing neither age nor sex, and burning houses and crops over the whole frontier country of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, and Maryland. Three of our forts, advantageously situated to the south of lake Erie, were taken, by decoying the garrisons to surrender, upon promises of mercy, which the unhappy captives never experienced. Our commander detached a small force for the relief of fort Detroit, which, meeting the Indians at the pass, was so severely handled, as to be under the necessity of retreating into the fort, with the loss of seventy killed and forty wounded, out of two hundred and seventy men.

Encouraged by their victory at Detroit, the Indians environed fort Pitt, formerly called Du Quesne, commanding the dominion of the whole course of the Ohio, in hopes of reducing the garrison, by harassing them, or by famine; they took post near the banks of the river, close to the fort, and, burying themselves for whole days together, poured in an incessant storm of musketry and fire-arrows. The commander in chief, General Amherst, aware of the critical situation of fort Pitt, sent a powerful escort to its relief, with military stores and provisions, under a brave and experienced officer, Colonel Bouquet. This body of troops advanced as far as the dangerous defile of Turtle creek, after leaving their convoy of provisions behind them, for the sake of being unincumbered, and taking only their most immediate necessaries along with them: at this pass they were assailed by the enemy, who first drew them into an ambush, and then, after obliging them to fall back upon their convoy, surrounded their camp in

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a most perilous situation. It became necessary to play off upon the savages their own stratagems of war, in order to draw them into an engagement: by a judicious disposal of his troops, and by commanding a retreat of his advanced posts, he drew them into a snare; they sallied out from their woods, were attacked in flank, front, and rear, and finally dispersed with great loss. This advantage was sufficient to clear the woods all around the line of march to fort Pitt; such, however, had been the sufferings of the army, that they were relunctantly obliged to destroy their provisions. In four days they reached the place of their destination, with little annoyance. Near the carrying place of Niagara, the enemy were more successful; they surrounded an escort, slew upwards of seventy men, and destroyed the whole detachment. On the lake Erie, with a crowd of canoes, they beset a schooner carrying provisions to fort Detroit; but though their savage navy had more than 400 men on-board, they were repulsed by this single vessel, after a hot engagement. To stop these hostilities, so detrimental to our colonial prosperity, General Amherst and Sir William Johnstone, the latter of whom had very extensive influence among the tribes, proposed such terms of peace as the majority of the savages thought convenient to accept; and the rest were overawed into compliance, by finding themselves exposed to an unequal contest with our superior power.

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The commencement of the year 1764, was signalized by an effort of the opposition party in parliament, to counteract the triumph of ministers in the affair of Wilkes. Concerning the demerits of Mr. Wilkes, there had been at bottom but little difference of opinion. An indignity had been offered to the crown, and a censure passed on par-

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liament, in his libel, which few or none were disposed to palliate; but in the question of those warrants which had been used in prosecuting this acknowledged delinquent, the case was very different. To strip this question of all invidious personality, it was propounded as a point of constitutional law. On the 14th of February, Sir William Meredith moved a resolution, stating, that a general warrant, for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers, of a seditious libel, together with their paper, is not warranted by law. On the 17th, to which the debate, after some continuance, was adjourned, Mr. Pitt supported the motion: he began with observing, 'that all which ministers wished, had been accomplished in the conviction and expulsion of Mr. Wilkes; it was now the duty of the house to do justice to the nation, to the constitution, and the law. Ministers had refused to lay the warrant before the house, because they were conscious of its illegality; and yet these ministers,' he said, 'who affected so much regard for liberty and the constitution, are ardently desirous of retaining, for themselves and for their successors, a power of doing an illegal act. Neither the law-officers of the crown, nor the minister himself, had attempted to defend the legality of the warrant; whenever goaded upon the point, they had evaded it. He, therefore, did not hesitate to say, that there was not a man to be found of sufficient profligacy to defend this warrant upon the principle of legality: it was no justification,' he said, 'that general warrants had been issued. Amongst the warrants which were laid before the house, to shew the practice of office, there were two which had been issued by himself; but they were not against libels:—one was for the seizure of a number of persons on board a ship going to France, the other for ap-

prehending the Count de St. Germain, a suspected foreigner, and both in time of war with France. Upon issuing the latter warrant, he consulted his friend the attorney-general, afterwards Lord Camden, who told him the warrant would be illegal, and if he issued it, he must take the consequences: nevertheless, preferring the general safety in time of war and public danger, to every personal consideration, he ran the risk, as he would of his head, had that been the forfeit upon the like motive, and did an extraordinary act against a suspicious foreigner, just come from France, and who was concealed at different times in different houses. The real exigency of the case, and the apparent necessity of the thing, would, in his opinion, always justify a secretary of state in every extraordinary act of power. In the present case, there was no necessity for a general warrant. Ministers knew all the parties; the plea of necessity could not be urged; there was no pretence for it; the nation was in perfect tranquillity; the safety of the state was in no danger; the charge was the writing and publishing a libel. What was there in this crime so heinous and terrible, as to require this formidable authority, which, like an inundation, bore down all the barriers and fences of happiness and security? Parliament had voted away its own privilege, and laid the personal freedom of every representative of the nation at the mercy of his majesty's attorney-general. Did parliament see the extent of this surrender? Did parliament see that they had decided upon the unalienable rights of the people, by submitting their representatives to a restraint of their persons, whenever the ministers or the attorney-general thought proper? The extraordinary and wanton exercise of an illegal power in this case admits of no justification or palliation.' He concluded, with saying,

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that if the house negatived the motion, they would be the disgrace of the present age, and the reproach of posterity.[6]

Upon a motion being made, the debate was adjourned for four months, by a majority of only fourteen.

It is proper to mention, that previous to this decision of the house for adjourning this question to the distance of four months, i. e. in other words, civilly dismissing it, an amendment was put and carried, by which it was resolved, that even if the sense of the house should be found, upon deciding the question of general warrants, to be inimical to their legality, the constant and uncensured practice of office should be a protection to those officers of state who had happened to use them. The very small majority by which ministers carried the adjourning resolution, and even the motion itself for adjournment, served to prove that they had rather escaped than conquered in this trial. Their justification of general warrants was but weakly conducted, nor, indeed, did the subject admit of a very strenuous defence: their arguments rested chiefly upon the established customs of such warrants, which, as Mr. Pitt justly answered, was an aggravation of the evil, rather than its apology. To the power of parliament to decide the question, they also objected, asserting

[6] It was in this adjourned debate, that one of Mr. Townsend's happiest bon mots was delivered. The master of the rolls, Sir Thomas Sewel, who usually sat in his large wig, had said, on the 14th, in favour of the adjournment, that this adjournment would afford him time to examine books and authorities upon the subject, to make up his opinion, which was yet undecided. On the second debate, he said, that he had that very morning turned the whole matter over in his mind as he lay upon his pillow, and, after ruminating a good deal, he could not help declaring that he was of the same opinion he was of before; upon which Mr. C. Townsend starting up, said he was very sorry to remark, that what his right honourable friend had found in his night cap, he had lost in his periwig. *Vide Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, vol. i, page 459.*

that the house of commons, as a legislative body, could not interpret the law with judicial authority; but if such an objection be valid, why did the same legislative body decide upon a point of law equally subject to judicial cognizance with the other, viz. the extent of privilege? Chief-justice Pratt decided upon Mr. Wilkes's case, that privilege was *a protection* in case of libel; the house raising themselves a step higher in the tribunal, pronounced over the head of the chief-justice, that privilege *did not extend to libel*; if they decided in one case judicially, why not in another? Among the independent members who voted with opposition upon the illegality of these warrants, was General Conway, who, to the utter disgrace of government, was deprived of his military command for this single vote. Whatever allurements it may be occasionally found necessary to hold out to corruptible members of parliament, for the sake of supporting administration, nothing can be more alarming to the liberties of the people, than to see the patronage of a court exerted in the way of punishment, as a terror to those in public service, restraining them from the exercise of their free and conscientious judgment: above all, to punish independent military members for such an act, is to drive from his majesty's service every patriotic adherent, and to convert a standing army into a troop of venal janissaries.

It is now time to take a short review of our transactions in India, which in this, as well as in the former year, presented a scene of uncommon and interesting events.

In the summer of 1760, Mr. Vansittart arrived at Calcutta, as governor-general and successor to Colonel Clive, and in a select committee convened by him, September 15th, and invested with the efficient powers of the council, a disposition appear-

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ed to adopt measures very different from those which had been of late pursued. The policy and arms of Lord Clive had been long and successfully employed against the unfortunate Shaw Zadda, lineal descendant of the great Auringzebe, upon the throne of Hindostan. Shaw Allum, the son of Shaw Zadda, succeeding his father in his tottering power and hostilities with the English, was defeated by the Bengal and British troops under Colonel Caillaud. Mir Jaffier Ally Kawn, the viceroy of Bengal, had owed his elevation to that dignity entirely to the English, after the deposition of his predecessor Surajah Dowla. The conduct of this weak and wicked subah, taught the English, that it would be detrimental to their interests in India to support him in his subahdary, or to resist the just pretensions of the son of Shaw Zadda to his rightful inheritance to the crown of Delhi. It was stated in Mr. Vansittart's committee, that the subah Mir Jaffier had, in his whole conduct, shewn himself treacherous, ungrateful, and unjust, and that he meditated schemes for throwing off the influence of the English. That to aid the young prince Shaw Allum, in his claims to the throne of India, would clear Bengal of a dangerous enemy, and probably reinstate him in the empire; in which case, an infinite train of advantages would follow to the interests of the company. The principal obstacle to this project, was the improbability of Shaw Allum and Mir Jaffier's ever being reconciled. It was therefore determined to depose the weak and irresolute tyrant Mir Jaffier, and to substitute in his place his son-in-law, Mir Cossim, as subah of Bengal. A secret treaty being made with Mir Cossim, by which it was agreed to leave his father in-law the mere titular dignity of his subahdary, and by which, also, profitable stipulations were made for the company,

Governor Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud marched, under other pretences, to Murshudabad, the subah's residence and capital, and, surrounding his palace, demanded that he should dismiss his evil counsellors, and give up his power into the hands of his son-in-law. The governor's first summons was couched in a friendly manner,—'*Let not your excellency be under any apprehensions; I solemnly declare I have no other views but your good.*' But on the subah's pretending to resist, the visitors, who had come upon this errand, threatened to storm his palace if he delayed to comply. The unfortunate Mir Jaffier seeing no hopes of effectual resistance, gave up his capital; but previously solicited the protection of the English against Mir Cossim, who, he apprehended, would take the first opportunity of dispatching him. He resided afterwards as a private man at Calcutta, upon an allowance from the company. CHAP. V. 1762.

Mir Cossim, a character entirely different, bold, subtile, and enterprising, felt, on his elevation, as little disposed as the former prince to continue faithful to the English interest. His first step was to remove from Murshudabad, which, from its vicinity to Calcutta, gave an opportunity to the English, of an ever-vigilant inspection into his affairs, and to fortify Mongheer, a place 200 miles farther up the Ganges, as strongly and expeditiously as possible. Observing the great inferiority of the native troops to ours, in spirit as well as discipline, he drew foreigners of every description into his service: Persian, Tartar, and American, soldiers of fortune flocked to his standard, and every wandering European who knew any thing of the art of war. He changed the fashion of the Indian musket from match-lock to fire-lock. He modelled his discipline after the best European plan, and

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formed an excellent train of artillery. Having thus secured himself, he began to assert his independence on the English, by subjecting their private traders to the regular and equal payment of duties throughout his dominions. This step alarmed the factory,—the governor himself went in person to expostulate. The subah answered, with great force of reason, that if the servants of the English company were permitted to trade in all parts, and in all commodities, custom free, they must of course draw all the trade into their own hands; and that the other customs of his kingdom would be of very little value, since it would be much more for his interest to throw the trade open, and collect no customs from any kind of merchandize. The governor found Mir Cossim so firm and intelligent, that he was obliged to submit the privileges of our countrymen to several restrictions. When the effect of this negociation was known at Calcutta, the council refused to abide by the decision of their governor, and declared, that in making such a treaty, he had exceeded the bounds of his authority. Disputes arose, and threats of defiance mutually passed.

The first blow that was struck in the war that ensued, was by the English, who surprised Patna, a large town upon the Ganges, 300 miles from Calcutta. Here the victors imprudently dispersed themselves, in quest of plunder. The Indian governor, who had fled from Patna, returned with rallied forces, and retook the place with ease. Our attack upon Patna having been made without any formal declaration of war, the natives were so exasperated, that our deputies, on their way home, were slaughtered. Every thing was in a train for inducing a general action. The army under Major Adams bent its course across a branch of the Ganges called Cossimbugar, and fought a pitched

battle with 10,000 of the enemy's troops, on the plains of Ballasara, not far from the subah's ancient capital, the city of Murshudabad. Here the improved tactics of Mir Cossim were found incapable of coping with the British arms: the enemy retired to a stronger position near the above-mentioned city; but being turned in flank by Major Adams, were once more obliged to retreat, and were chased by the English through marshes and forests to the utmost limits of Bengal. Mir Cossim, however, had still troops in reserve. On the banks of a remote river, near Nuncas Nullas, his main force was posted with a shew of judicious disposition and order, which seemed to the Europeans a reflection of their own. The artillery was well appointed, the soldiers regularly brigaded; there was even a display of soldier-like coolness in battle; for they waited our onset, which they resisted intrepidly for four hours.

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But although such enemies had never before been encountered in India, our career of victory was not to be arrested. Notwithstanding their numbers amounted to 28,000 horse and foot, they were driven from the field, with the loss of all their cannon. At a post called Auda Nulla, between a chain of mountains and the river Ganges, they made another stand from the 21st of August to the 4th of September, when their entrenchments were carried with great slaughter. Thus, a way was opened to the very gates of Mongheer, which the nabob had made the place of his residence, and the centre of his military operations. It surrendered, after a siege of nine days. Patna was the only place of importance which now remained in the enemy's hands, and was the last scene of our efforts in this successful campaign. After a siege of eight days, it was taken at last by storm. A horrible tragedy, which had been perpetrated at this place, made the

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siege unfortunately memorable in the Indian annals. Two hundred English prisoners had been taken upon its recovery by the natives. these were devoted to destruction by the barbarous Mir Cossim. To the disgrace of the European name, a German, called Sommers, was found capable of committing the deed. The crime of treachery was added to assassination: he invited above forty officers and other persons of the company's service, to sup with him, on the evening designed for their execution. While his guests, in full security, imagined themselves protected by the laws of war, and by the still more sacred laws of hospitality, he ordered armed Indians to fall upon them. Even the barbarous soldiers refused at first to butcher defenceless men, till compelled, by blows and threats, to the bloody task. The wretched prisoners made a brave defence with such weapons as the table, at which they sat, could afford; but in the end they were all massacred. Major Adams, in taking Patna, had a full opportunity of chastising the nabob for such shocking barbarity. That prince, now totally ruined, fled with his forces into the territory of Sujah Dowlah, subah of a neighbouring province, who had great power, and bore the title of hereditary vizier to the great mogul. There, however, he found refuge only for himself and his immediate followers; for the subah refused admittance to his army, unwilling to make his own dominions the theatre of a war, which had been so unfortunate to his neighbour. No campaign in India had ever been conducted with more promptitude and effect: in less than four months, Major Adams completed the entire conquest of Bengal, fought four capital actions, took two capital fortresses, nearly 500 pieces of cannon, and defeated the most provoked, resolute, cautious, and subtile enemy we had ever encountered in India.

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After the prorogued question of general warrants, the succeeding business of parliament consisted in regulating matters of finance. Mr. Grenville was regarded as the primary deviser and promoter of the plan for the increase of revenue, laid before the public this year, which, in the end, led to consequences so fatal and unforeseen. Situated as ministry now were, with a watchful and eloquent opposition in the lower house, prepared to scrutinize their measures with relentless severity, and to throw them out of the slender popularity which they yet retained, they were obliged to be cautious in committing themselves, by imposing new burthens on the public. To ingratiate themselves, as much as possible, with the nation, they affected the strictest economy, reducing the national debt, by issuing, at a considerable discount, exchequer bills to the amount of £1,800,000, of which the bank were obliged to take £1,000,000 (besides paying £100,000) for the renewal of their charter. They brought to the service of the nation £700,000, the produce of French prizes taken before the declaration of war, and which the king generously bestowed upon the public. A sum of £140,000, the saving on non-effective men, which had been long unaccounted for, was applied also in aid of the public debt. These resources, along with the land and malt-tax, besides £2,000,000, the surplus of the sinking fund, afforded payment of the additional debt contracted on account of the war, and provided for the expences of the following war, the whole amounting to £78,201,021. The opposition party, though silent upon the merits of this financial system when laid before the house, did not fail to discuss it with rigour in the pamphlets and periodical writings of the day. They accused ministers of saving themselves the odium of imposing taxes, by the iniquitous pro-

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ceeding of leaving the expences of the past and present time to be a burthen upon their successors. The work of this administration had been to raise the rate of interest, and to impair the sinking fund, instead of lessening the former, and elevating the latter; and, by merely postponing necessary provisions, they had left £10,000,000 of outstanding debt.

The contested merits of Mr. Grenville's financial scheme for this year are too complicated to admit of investigation, within narrow bounds, in the view of their affecting the state of the national debt. The evil consequences which arose from his mode of increasing the revenue were such as the opposition did not at this time foresee or describe. To raise the supplies of 1764, the minister was obliged to recur neither to a loan nor a lottery. He confided in his power of suppressing smuggling, and deriving from the custom-house a fund of treasure, of which illegal traders had long defrauded the exchequer. Armed cutters were fitted out to suppress that trade, between the Spanish and British colonies in the New World, which, though varying from the strict letter of the law, was not inconsistent with the spirit of any regulating act of trade passed by the legislature, while it was productive of rich and beneficial consequences to the colonies and the parent country, and had, by long connivance, almost attained the sanction of legitimate commerce. We are entitled to call the interference of government a suppression of the trade; for the delegation of its superintendance being committed to men who could not be expected to regulate it with due discrimination, all the effects of suppression were instantly felt. Naval officers were entrusted with the regulation of this intercourse, who, unacquainted with revenue-business, too impatient, and too much interested in making

seizures to investigate the cases of their victims, and, when their acts of violence were committed too far from the head-quarters of justice to be brought to account, seized indiscriminately all ships in that commerce, both of subjects and foreigners. Besides this traffic, which consisted chiefly of gold, silver, cochineal, and medicinal drugs, bartered for British manufactures, or the produce of the British isles, there had existed, for a long time, and with similar advantages, a trade between the British North-American colonies and the French West-Indies. It had been for a long time permitted, in the last war between Britain and France, directly by flags of truce, and circuitously through the Dutch and Danish islands. This intercourse not only prevented our North-American colonists from being drained of their current cash by the calls of the mother-country, but added to it, so as to make it keep pace with their domestic commerce. In this trade, as well as the other, perhaps a mild and judicious interference might have been salutary in limiting the prodigious extent of smuggling; but a total and sudden suppression of any vent for the commodities of a manufacturing country, even though obtained by contraband means, was an arbitrary measure, which told its impolicy by speedy and calamitous effects. The inhabitants of America, who, from the infancy of the useful arts among them, were not yet able to clothe themselves without many articles of British manufactory, who maintained a connection with us, obliging them to remit us yearly a certain proportion of their payments in money, had no longer gold and silver to send, when debarred from trade with the only nation who could supply those metals. They naturally complained of the intolerable grievance of the prohibition, and shewing, by unanswerable reasoning, that, if it were continued, the pur-

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chase of our commodities must be followed by the ruin of their own fortunes, declared their firm resolution, to make use of no British manufactures while it existed. Associations were formed among all ranks of people, to encourage and bind each other in this economical resolution. America afforded them the materials of plain and frugal manufactures: these they could prepare with their own hands, without draining their country of that wealth which was forbid to be renovated by any channel. All the boasted superiority of British goods over their own consisted in their fineness; and, where their own and their country's interest was at stake, luxury could well be sacrificed.

As if to deprive America of her own internal resources, whilst we cut her off from beneficial intercourse abroad, a law was passed in April 1764, which, though it legalised, in some respects, their commerce with European colonies in the new world, loaded the best part of it with duties so far above its strength, as to render it contraband to all intents and purposes. It likewise ordered the money arising from these duties to be paid in specie into the British exchequer; as if the best mode of curing an emaciated body, was to drain it of its remaining juices. Regulations, it is true, of a protecting nature, were passed in behalf of these colonies, such as bounties on the importation of hemp, and encouragements for the growth of fisheries; but the effect of bounties and encouragements operated at best remotely; whereas the cramping of their trade, and the restriction of their paper-money, were felt with instantaneous severity. Much as these restraints impoverished America, they were still more injurious to ourselves. Our American colonies had been in the habit of receiving from us (exclusively of foreign goods that came to them through our hands) the

produce of our manufactories to the amount of several millions. Every individual concerned in the production and sale of these articles, from the sowing of their seeds in the fields of Britain, to the landing them on the shores of North America, experienced, during the stoppage of trade, all the evils of idleness and bankruptcy. It was obvious also, that even if any scanty gains were to accrue from the sufferings of America, our own revenue, dependent as it is upon the state of merchandize, must ultimately suffer from a state of commercial distress. Sir Robert Walpole had an idea of colonial taxation so different from Mr. Grenville's, that when urged to make America contribute, by taxes, to alleviate the burthens of Britain, he smiled at the proposal, and said,—'I will leave that for some of my successors, who have more courage than I have, and are less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies in the utmost latitude, (nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe); for, by encouraging them to an extensive growing foreign commerce, if they gain £500,000, I am convinced that, in two years afterwards, full £250,000 of their gains will be in his majesty's exchequer, by the labour and produce of this kingdom; as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither, and as they increase in their foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably both to their own constitution and to ours.'

The murmurs excited by embarrassment and loss of trade in America were loud and general. The obstruction of its paper credit produced additional dissatisfaction; but the bill of Mr. Grenville, proposing, that, 'towards further *defraying*

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the expence of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain STAMP DUTIES *on the colonies,'* converted the alienation of the Americans into positive resistance. A distinction had always obtained between those customs that were levied upon certain specified articles, the produce of one colony when exported to another, and taxes, strictly so called, which not being in the least intended for the regulation of trade, but solely with a view of bringing money into the British treasury, involved in their nature a controvertible claim. To impose any duties of this latter kind, the colonists said, belonged not to British authority. They were subjects of the same king, obedient to the same empire, but not amenable to the taxation of a British parliament, which, representing only Britain itself, could not legislate for the colonies, without a mixture of colonial members. It must be noticed, that the first mention of the stamp act, in 1764, did not proceed as a bill, but as a resolution upon which a bill was to be afterwards founded. By this delay, it was meant that the Americans, if they disliked the proposal, should have time to offer a compensation of some other supply, which should be more agreeable to themselves and equally profitable to government. But the manner in which the simple proposal was received, proved that America never could be brought to bear it: the colonists did not attack it merely as an impolitic or severe imposition, but as a direct violation of their rights as members of the British empire. The first and most active scene of discontent upon this occasion, was the northern division of British America, New England: that country, less productive than the southern provinces, was inhabited by a hardy generation, whose necessities drove them to traffic, and whose genius and abilities were rendered keen

and enterprising by their mercantile habits of life. They were, besides, more peculiarly the descendants of those reformed protestants, who, in perilous and persecuting times, had fled from the tyranny of their native country, to find civil and religious liberty among the deserts of the New World; inheriting from their forefathers a hatred of tyranny, and a tinge of republican manners. They possessed, along with the hardy spirit to which their ancestors had been indebted for their settlements, a mixture of religious zeal, which sublimated and gave strength to their political principles. The middle and southern states, of more pliant and flexible characters, easily received from their northern neighbours the contagion of resistance, in a case which appealed so severely to their dearest interests. It was from the northern division of North America that the great spirit of opposition proceeded against the claim of British taxation. To New-York America was indebted for Dr. Franklin. The states having resolved to petition every branch of the British legislature against the imposition of duties by stamp, this powerful patriot was chosen as principal agent in the business. The speech made from the throne at the opening of the next session, made evident allusion to the effects known to be produced on the public mind in America by the recent measures of administration; yet so far from recommending any healing or palliative means of appeasing the colonists, it exhorted parliament to promote the legislative authority of Great Britain. But before a new blow could be struck at the colonies, another was levelled at the ministry. The original question concerning general warrants, in cases of libels, was renewed. This second attempt, however, proved as abortive as the first. After a long and violent debate, the question was rejected by a majority of forty votes. Another motion of

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a popular nature, for restraining the practice of filing informations, *ex officio*, by the attorney-general, was also negatived.

Very early in this session, by an order of the lower house, the lord-chancellor introduced a bill for preventing illicit trade on the coast of the isle of Mann. It was resolved to subject this island, which was under the crown, but not under the realm of Great Britain, to the revenue-laws of the superior country. This small territory had continued for near 400 years, vested by parliamentary charter, in the family of the duke of Atholl, to which it had descended by alliance with the house of Derby. The family of Atholl, with proper submission, petitioned his majesty and the British parliaments, to grant them a proper compensation for the sacrifice, which was about to be made, of their ancient and princely patrimony. £70,000 was voted as a full compensation for the jurisdictions, interests, and dependencies, of the island, now vested in the crown, reserving to the proprietors their right in the soil, as lords of the manor, along with ecclesiastical patronage.

The opportunity which Mr. Grenville afforded the Americans, of commuting the stamp-tax for another that should be equivalent in produce, though meant as a conciliatory measure, was not regarded as such by the colonies. Not one of the states authorized its agent to agree to the tax, or to offer any compensation. The vote of parliament, which expressed the propriety of imposing this duty, had gone smoothly through the house; but the final laying on of the tax was attended in the lower house with some very interesting discussion. Mr. Pitt was, during the greater part of the session, confined with the gout; but the injustice and impolicy of the tax were strongly exposed by two able and independent members, General Con-

way and Colonel Barré. Opposition, though weak in numbers, was strong in argumentative eloquence. In answer to the claim of ministers to tax America, the advocates of colonial rights denied the power of an English legislature to deprive any subject, under the British constitution, of his property, without his consent, given by virtual or real resignation. With regard to the minister's plea, of America having cost the mother-country prodigious loss of blood and treasure to preserve her, it was proved, that, in the interwoven interests of the two countries, reciprocal, but, to Britain, perhaps superior, advantages were to be found arising from the connection. As a clear demonstration that the government of this country had never had cause to complain of America's being backward to her own defence, it was shewn, from records, that £1,072,000 had been from time to time bestowed upon the colonial assemblies, as rewards for their defensive exertions against the common enemy; and in return for losses America had suffered in maintaining her connection with the mother-country. In reply to an observation of ministry, that the Americans, though children planted by our care, and nourished by our indulgence, had yet shewn themselves unworthy of protection by their ingratitude, Colonel Barré, with great animation, exclaimed,—'they planted by your care! No, your oppression planted them in America: they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated desert, when they were exposed to all hardships to which human nature is liable; and yet, impelled by a love of liberty, they met these hardships with pleasure, compared to those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends. They nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care

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was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, the deputies of deputies, who presided over tribunals abroad, instead of standing at the bar of justice at home; men, whose behaviour on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence—have exerted their valour amidst their constant and laborious industry. I have been conversant with the Americans, and I know them to be loyal indeed; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they be violated; and let my prediction of this day be remembered, that the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still: but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther.' The famous stamp-act passed by a large majority, the house refusing, even at the recommendation of Mr. Grenville, to hear the colonial agents by counsel at the bar.

Early in the month of April, his majesty was afflicted by an alarming disorder. At the first audience with which he honoured his minister after his recovery, he took a paper out of his pocket, containing a speech to both houses of parliament, requesting power to nominate a regent, with a council, in case of his death's occurring before his successor should attain eighteen years of age. This paper his majesty left with the minister, having previously fixed the day for going to the house. As this was the first notice administration had received of this design, they were thrown into considerable surprise. The speech was written, and the measure was formed, without their participation, or even their knowledge. They were not, therefore, very ardent in their support of it. A bill, however, was brought into the house of lords, in conformity with the contents of the speech,—'to vest in the king the

power of appointing, by instruments in writing, under his sign manual, either the queen, or any other person in the royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to the office of regency.' A doubt arising on the question,—'who are the royal family of Great Britain?' it was explained as comprehending the descendants of George II; and this explanation was declared by the secretary of state, Lord Halifax, to be perfectly agreeable to the royal construction. According to this interpretation, no one could be named regent except the queen, or some one sprung from George II; her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales was therefore not included. This omission was regarded by the house of commons as an indignity to her royal highness; and a motion was made by a relation of Lord Bute, that her name should be inserted next after the queen's. In this amended state, the bill being remitted to the peers, passed into a law. The ministry had never been popular, and by this late neglect, they were commonly supposed to have lost the confidence of the crown, having drawn upon themselves the relentless displeasure of Leicester-house. It filled the measure of offence, already deeply afforded, by their having remonstrated with the sovereign on his bestowing several places of trust and dignity, without their approbation. His majesty, in concurrence with the earl of Bute, formed the resolution of dismissing them.

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Negociation of the duke of Cumberland with Mr. Pitt for forming a new ministry.... The king submits for the present, but commences another treaty with Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple .... Formation of a new ministry under the auspices of the duke of Cumberland, consisting of the marquis of Rockingham, and other statesmen of whig principles.... Clamour of the colonies against the stamp-act.... Disturbances of Boston .... Formation of a congress from several states in America .... Resolution of the colonists to abstain from all articles of British manufacture.... Character of the Rockingham ministry.... Baneful tendency of.... Meeting of parliament.... Mr. Pitt's speech.... Mr. Grenville's answer.... Mr. Pitt's reply.... The declaration-act passed.... Opposition to the repeal of the stamp-act.... Reception of the stamp-act in America.... Defects and disagreement of the Rockingham ministry.... Repeal of the cyder-tax.... Restriction of general warrants.... Plan of the ministry for governing Canada .... Mr. Pitt applied to for the formation of a new ministry .... Formation of Mr. Pitt's ministry.... Mr. Pitt accepts of a peerage, under the title of Lord Chatham.... Affairs in India..... Lord Clive arrives in India with full powers.... Appointment of the select committee.... Lord Clive concludes mild and merciful terms with Sujah Doulah, and restores him to a share of his power.... Revenue arising to the company from this treaty.... Lord Clive restrains the corruptions existing in East-India transactions.... Mutiny of the officers in the company's service.... Dividends claimed by the proprietors of East-India stock.... Scarcity of corn felt in England.... Proclamation against forestalling and monopoly .... Marriage of the princess Matilda to the king of Denmark.... Meeting of parliament in November 1766.... *Weakness of the ministry.... Baffled in the question of the*

land-tax.... Committee appointed by parliament to inspect the affairs of the East-India company.... A bill passed for establishing an agreement between government and that company.. Terms of the agreement.... Regulation of the company's dividends by parliament.... Act of parliament for imposing on America certain duties payable on glass, paper, pasteboard, tea, &c.... Aversion of the colonies to these duties expressed in Boston, October 1767.... Resolutions of American societies formed for discouraging British imports .... Message of the king to Lord Chatham.... His lordship's answer.... Offers made to Lord Rockingham.... His lordship consults Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville.... The negociation is broken off by their difference of opinion respecting America.... Death of Charles Townsend.... Lord North succeeds Townsend as chancellor of the exchequer.

MR. PITT having declared in parliament, on the subject of his political intentions, that he would live and die with his brother-in-law Lord Temple, it became necessary for the projectors of a new ministry, their views being fixed upon Mr. Pitt, to make application to his lordship, as the most essential step for obtaining their object. Accordingly, on the 15th of May, the duke of Cumberland sent for Lord Temple from Stowe, informed him of the king's wishes for a change, and required to know from him *the conditions* upon which his party were willing to come in. His lordship, in answer, stated his proposals:—the making certain foreign alliances; the restoration of officers whom the opposition considered as unjustly dismissed; a repeal of the excise on cyder; and a full condemnation of general warrants. His royal highness assenting to these, proposed adding, in compliance with the king's desire, that Lord Northumberland should be placed at the head of the treasury. Lord Temple replied, that he would never come in under Lord Bute's lieutenant,

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(Northumberland was at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland). The duke, however, had still hopes of success. On the 19th of the same month he waited on Mr. Pitt at Hayes. Mr. Pitt assured his royal highness that he was ready to go to St. James's, if he could carry the constitution along with him. Next day his royal highness sent Lord Frederic Cavendish to Mr. Pitt, offering to relinquish the proposed elevation of Lord Northumberland, provided another situation could be found for him. Mr. Pitt repeated his former emphatic declaration. The treasury was then offered to Lord Lyttleton, who desired to consult Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt. At this the duke of Cumberland was offended, and advised his majesty to continue his present servants. At the same period Lord Temple, and his brother, Mr. Grenville, were reconciled: their reconciliation was declared to be only a renewal of their family friendship; but it had a great and mutual effect upon their subsequent politics.

Had this negociation with Mr. Pitt's party been successful, the Grenville administration must have fallen immediately: proving abortive, it gave the latter a temporary triumph. In the present state of strange and unexempled hostility between the monarch and his servants,[1] these ministers, as if

[1] In one of the conferences that took place between the duke of Bedford and his majesty, the duke made use of very unbecoming language to his sovereign. Having formed expectations of cherishing a whole band of his partizans under the wings of his patronage, he tried to accomplish this object by thwarting his royal master. 'After two years of submission,' says Junius, in his letter to this personage, 'you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to controul, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave.' On another occasion, the same writer says,—'The ministry having endeavoured to exclude the dowager out of the regency bill, the earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the ——, reproached him, in plain terms, with duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy; repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in strong convulsions.'—*Junius's Letters, the author's own edition, printed by Woodfall.*

to punish his majesty for an attempt to introduce their opponents, made a tender of certain conditions, without which they refused to remain in office. These were, 1st, that Lord Bute should not interfere, directly or indirectly, in the affairs of government; 2d, that Mr. Stuart M'Kenzie, Lord Bute's brother, should be dismissed from the office of keeper of the privy seal for Scotland; 3d, that Lord Holland should be deprived of the paymastership of the forces, which should be bestowed on a member of the house of commons; 4th, that the marquis of Granby should be placed at the head of the army; and 5th, that the government of Ireland should be left to the discretionary arrangement of the ministry. The obtaining of these demands did not restore harmony in the cabinet. His majesty chose *to yield*, but felt the first of the proposals as a personal insult. The dismission of Lord Holland and Lord Northumberland was likewise unpleasant to the royal inclination, and, when considered as an act of the Grenville ministry, was a foolish sacrifice to their own interests. Lord Bute and the duke of Cumberland having both failed in their negociations, the king himself undertook a third treaty with Mr. Pitt. By desire Mr. Pitt waited upon his majesty at the queen's house (on the 25th of June 1765) along with Lord Temple, when the following conditions were proposed to the brothers.—Mr. Stuart M'Kenzie to be restored; Lord Northumberland to be lord-chamberlain; the king's friends to continue in their present situations. Upon the two first conditions Mr. Pitt was not obstinate; of the last he required an explanation: but Lord Temple declared against the whole. This third negociation having failed, the duke of Cumberland was again applied to; and as his majesty was determined, at all events, to part with the present mi-

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nistry, his royal highness had full power to select what persons he chose as their successors. The duke of Newcastle, the marquis of Rockingham, and their friends, thought it their duty to accept of his royal highness's invitation. The duke of Grafton and General Conway were made secretaries of state, the management of the house of commons being intrusted to the latter. Mr. Dowdeswell was named chancellor of the exchequer, and the earl of Hertford lord-lieutenant of Ireland. As the leading members of this cabinet were avowedly men of whig principles, the tide of popular favour was expected to flow in upon them. One of their first acts was to bestow a peerage upon the lord-chief-justice of the common pleas, a strenuous friend of liberty, who, to the general satisfaction of the nation, received that dignity by the title of Lord Camden. Unfortunately for the new ministry, the illustrious character to whom they owed their nomination continued but for a short time to aid them with his influence and advice. In less than four months after their appointment the duke of Cumberland was cut off by a sudden death. The country deplored his loss as a general misfortune; for in politics his royal highness was a firm supporter of those pure principles upon which his family had ascended the throne. His patriotism was sincere. In military fame he was one of those commanders to whose abilities fortune seemed not to have done justice, having seldom favoured him with victory; yet, among judges of military merit, he was held in high esteem, his talents having been conspicuous in many instances, where he had to combat with superior numbers, and to save himself in disastrous circumstances.

October 31.

The year which had produced a change of administration at home was replete with unpromising events in America. The general prin-

ciple of arbitrary taxation was odious in America: the stamp act was declared grievous, for a number of secondary, but still serious, considerations. The money collected by this tax was to be paid in solid specie, which had already become exceedingly scarce. It was asserted, that the expence of sending stamps by post would, in many instances, exceed the value of the stamps themselves, and that, in many cases, where the inhabitants would be obliged to travel for them themselves, their expences would amount to several pounds, in order to contribute a sixpence to government. The news of the act having passed was first communicated to the colony of New England, where, as we have already observed, the spirit of resistance was boldest. The ships in the harbour of Boston hung out their colours half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the act itself was printed with a death's head affixed to it, and hawked about the streets by the name of 'Folly of England and ruin of America.' Essays, and other popular writings, issued abundantly from the American press, full of ungoverned licentiousness, and repeating, in harsher terms, the political doctrines which had been already divulged on the British side of the Atlantic. These proceedings were followed by others, which might naturally be expected to come in their train. When the act itself, as printed at the king's printing house, reached the colonies, the populace were so incensed, that they burnt it publicly, along with the effigies of those who were imagined to be its supporters. The cargoes of such vessels as had been the bearers of those detested stamps were treated by the multitude in the same manner, and their captains obliged to save their persons by taking refuge on-board the king's ships. Every species of outrage became

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common among the populace to individuals remotely or immediately concerned in the attempted execution of the tax. By degrees the better sort of people mixed in the same tumults: even the provincial assemblies, though they disavowed these riotous proceedings, would give their governors neither advice nor assistance in repelling the rising spirit of faction, or in protecting those who were exposed to its violence. In the assembly of Virginia, Patrick Henry, a leading and eloquent speaker, pronounced an unqualified condemnation on the government of this country. Pointing out the possible effects of tyrannizing over America, he exclaimed, 'Cæsar had his Brutus; Charles I his Oliver Cromwell; and George III ———.' The court party smothered his speech by a cry of treason, treason; but he resumed his declamation, after some interruption, and excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm the already inflamed minds of his audience. Assemblies of the freeholders and respectable inhabitants were now held over the greater part of British America, who directed their representatives to persist in opposing the stamp act. These meetings were sanctioned, on the other hand, by the larger assemblies. Considering, at the same time, unanimity essential, in deciding upon measures for preventing an encroachment on the common rights of all the colonists, they established corresponding committees, and appointed deputies from these committees to meet in a general congress at New York. The delegates, when they assembled, had little more to do than to put their signature to a common declaration of their rights and grievances. Nine of the colonies were represented in this congress. The four which sent no representatives were, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The inhabitants of these, instead of sending a deputy to New York, contented

themselves with drawing up a declaration, professing their loyalty to the crown of Britain, and their subordination to the two houses of parliament, but appealing to their charters as colonists for the proof of their being entitled to be governed by their own legislature in all cases of internal taxes and police. The assembly of New Hampshire promised its concurrence in any petition which should be agreed upon by the representatives of the other colonies. 'Through the meeting of so many deputies,' (says an historian of these events [2]) 'a communication was opened, and a correspondence established, between the leading men of all the colonies; and a foundation was thus laid for uniting their common efforts, whenever future circumstances, and the attempt of a future administration, should render it necessary. One effect of the mutual understanding which took place among these leading men was, indeed, discoverable; for, as soon as they returned to their respective homes, associations were set on foot, in all the colonies, against the importation of British manufactures; such importation to cease after the 1st of January following, until the stamp act should be repealed; a measure which was probably concerted before they left New York.'

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By the 1st of November, the time appointed for the act to take place, scarcely a sheet of stamp paper was to be found throughout the several colonies of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, or the two Carolinas, so that all business, which could not be legally conducted without stamps, was necessarily suspended. Newspapers alone were printed and sold unstamped, in defiance of the act. The courts of justice were closed, and the ports were shut up.

[2] Stedman, vol. i, p. 42.

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Even in those few places where stamps could have been procured, people submitted to be proclaimed in church rather than sue out licences for private marriages. In the meantime, the colonists took every means of freeing themselves from that slight dependence on the mother country which their wants created. A society of arts, manufactures, and commerce, on the plan of that of London, was instituted at New York, and markets were opened for the sale of home-made goods. Economy being thus united with patriotism, a spirit of frugal industry was infused into the American character, in the place of their former luxury and profusion. It seemed impossible to go greater lengths towards breaking off commercial connection with the mother country, when a resolution was proposed, to stop the exportation of tobacco from Virginia and South Carolina to Great Britain; a measure which, it was obvious, must prove a serious blow to our trade, and, in proportion to the diminution of that trade, to our revenue also.

The interests of commerce could not fail to be materially injured, by the derangement of commerce, which the state of America occasioned. Manufactures were at a stand; provisions dear; and bankruptcy very general. The attention of the nation was accordingly turned, with anxious expectation, to the measures in contemplation by a mild and conciliating ministry. The marquis of Rockingham, beloved for his personal virtues, was supposed to possess, although not genius of the most elevated order, yet a sufficient share of plain upright judgment to unravel the perplexed circumstances in which he found the nation on becoming minister. The duke of Grafton was respected for superior worth and talents; and General Conway had already given proofs of ability and public spirit. But a crisis of danger like the present de-

manded no common wisdom to its encounter. To appease America, without compromising the dignity of Britain; to subdue the mutinous spirit that was gone abroad through the colonies, without imposing measures which it would require dragooning to enforce; to retract from an imprudent tax, without appearance of timidity, and yet to assert our supremacy over America, as a part of the colonial empire; was a political problem so very difficult to solve, that, even now, when the dispute is over, and when past events may be supposed to have taught us what *ought to have been done*, it is scarcely possible to conceive the practicable line of conduct which, if it had been pursued, would have certainly led to the safe submission of our colonies. To persist, as Mr. Grenville had proposed, and still continued to propose, in the strong-handed compulsion of the colonists, was evidently the extreme of violence. The doctrine propounded by that unfortunate minister, of our right to tax the Americans without their consent, led to inductions so hostile to human freedom, that we cannot but sympathize with a free-born race for rejecting it with vehemence. The question of right, like many others in politics, might have better been buried in discreet silence, but, if once started, ought not to have been peremptorily decided in favour of oppression. If, on the past possibility of retaining the mighty empire which fell from us in consequence of Mr. Grenville's pitiful stamp act, an opinion may be given, without presumption, there seems to have been one practicable chance of settling the dispute, to the honour and advantage of both countries, had the firm and just counsels of Mr. Pitt been adopted. Without anticipating on the future speeches of that illustrious patriot on American affairs, it may be noticed, that his advice was the only one which unit-

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ed justice with firmness. His intrepid sense of propriety saw no danger in retracting the strong measures, and abjuring the very principle of those strong measures which occasioned irritation in the colonies. He urged parliament to abstain from taxation, or even from avowing the right of taxation, but to assert our legislative supremacy in every other shape. Unhappily the plan of conciliation adopted by the marquis of Rockingham, while it partook of mildness shared also of indecision. He proposed to retract the present odious imposition, but, in case it should be convenient to tax America at some future period, to retain, by express declaration, the right and principle of arbitrary taxation.[3] The ex-minister and his party, anxious to justify their past conduct, by holding out the same imperious claims to the colonies, pleaded for a continuance of the tax, along with an unlimited avowal of its principle.

[3] 'The principle of the repeal,' says a judicious writer, (Stedman) 'and the policy of the ministry in proceeding thus hastily upon it, have been much questioned, and not without a strong appearance of reason. If the objections of the colonial assemblies were deemed of no force or validity, it was the duty of the British parliament, for the preservation of their own authority, instead of repealing, to have taken strong measures for inforcing, the execution of the stamp act. On the other hand, if these objections were unanswerable and irresistible, it would have been wise, it would have been magnanimous, and worthy of the representatives of a great nation, not only to have repealed the stamp act, but, by an open declaration, to have renounced, for ever, the exercise of such an unconstitutional authority, and at the same time to have devised some other expedient for accomplishing the end proposed by the stamp act, by less exceptionable means. Such a declaration would have quieted the minds of the colonists, and removed all future apprehensions. But the British parliament pursued neither of these courses. It is true they repealed the stamp act, but they at the same time passed the declaratory act, more arbitrary and more alarming than the other, and by this preposterous policy kept alive the jealousy which the stamp act had excited, whilst they abandoned all the benefits which it was designed to produce. The inhabitants of the colonies had resisted the execution of the stamp act, because they thought it unconstitutional: the inexpediency of it made no part of their legislative complaints. They denied the right of parliament to impose taxes upon them, but they never pretended that the taxes imposed by the stamp act were greater than they were able to pay.'—*History of the American war, vol.* i, *p.* 46.

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On the 16th of December 1765 parliament assembled, for a serious deliberation on American affairs; and business was opened, as usual, with a speech from the throne, in which the recent events in America were noticed, and recommended to the serious consideration of the legislature. It appeared, from the tenour of the address, that ministers were not prepared to come forward with any strong or consistent plan of measures. This indecisive tone gave room for the severest animadversions on the part of opposition. When the house met, after the holidays, Mr. Pitt fell with the utmost severity upon the equivocal nature of this speech. He reprehended every capital measure of administration: to their fair characters he paid a due compliment; 'but confidence,' he said, 'was a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom.' After some remarks of less importance, upon the late changes and their causes, which he ascribed to that secret over-ruling influence of a power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself, he came to the order of the day. 'It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was taken, in this house, to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an act that is past. I would speak with decency of every act of this house; but I must beg the indulgence of this house to speak of it with freedom. I hope a day may soon be appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. A subject of greater importance never engaged the attention of this house, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be

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bound or free? In the meantime, as I cannot depend upon my health, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency, of the act to another time. I will only speak to one point; a point which seems not to have been generally understood; I mean to the right. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the kingdom are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax is only necessary to close with the form of a law: the gift and grant is of the commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the barons, and the clergy, possessed the lands. In those days, the barons and the clergy gave and granted to the crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the commons are become the proprietors of the land. The church, God bless it, has but a pittance. The property of the lords, compared with that of the commons, is but as a drop of water in the ocean; and this house represents those commoners: the proprietors of the lands, and those proprietors virtually, represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, we give and grant, we give and grant

what is our own. But in an American tax what do we do. We, your majesty's commons in Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty,—what; our own property? No,—we give and grant to your majesty the property of your majesty's commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. CHAP. VI. 1766.

The distinction between taxation and legislation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown and the peers are equally legislative powers with the commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in the house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by a knight of the shire in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number. Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough: of a borough which, perhaps, its own representatives never saw? This is what is called the rotten part of the constitution. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of any man: it does not deserve a serious refutation.

The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of this their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures; in every January.

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thing except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here I would draw the line—*Quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*'

The only speaker who attempted to answer Mr. Pitt was Mr. Grenville. He began with censuring the ministry for neglecting to give earlier notice of the troubles in America. He said,—' they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January. Lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults, and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and, if the doctrines I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and differ only in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been, exercised over those who are not, who never were, represented. It is exercised over the India company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the stocks, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatine of Chester, and the bishopric of Durham, before they sent any representatives to parliament. I appeal, for proof, to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives; the one in the reign of Henry VIII, the other in that of Charles II.' Mr. Grenville then quoted the acts, and desired that they might be read. When this was done, he continued: ' when I proposed to tax America, I asked the house if any gentleman would object to the right. I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to

deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America: America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has been always afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run herself into an immense debt to give them their protection: and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, an expence arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence. Let us only hold out a little, they would say; our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America. Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce: and yet I have been abused in all the public papers, as an enemy to the trade of America.' Mr. Grenville here entered into a long justification of his measures respecting America. He had discouraged (he said) no trade but what was illicit; and he desired a West-India merchant (Mr. Long) well known in the city, and a gentleman of respectable character, to be examined, who would prove, that he offered

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to do every thing in his power for advancing the trade of America.' When Mr. Grenville ceased, several members rose to speak; but Mr. Pitt seeming to rise, the house was so clamorous to hear him, that the speaker was obliged to call to order. After obtaining a little quiet, he said, Mr. Pitt was up; and Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Grenville. Gentlemen, he said, had been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. 'They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy stamp act, and that had become their crime. Sorry am I to hear the liberty of speech in this house imputed as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman that calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate. America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I come not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dog's ears, to defend the cause of liberty. If I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them to shew, that, even under former arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken an higher example in Wales; Wales, that never was taxed by parliament till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman. I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches. But

for the defence of liberty, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm, on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed and are not represented;—the India company, merchants, stock-holders, manufacturers: surely many of these are represented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune, that more are not equally represented. But they are all inhabitants, and as such are they not virtually represented? They have connections with those that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stock-holders. I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as a part of the national estate. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America: I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain, America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern,—the greater must rule the less, but so rule it as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes I cannot help it: but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

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The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? but I desire to know when they were made slaves. When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office. I speak therefore from knowledge; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is £2,000,000 a-year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at £2,000 a-year threescore years ago are at £3,000 at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America: this is the price America pays for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can bring a pepper-corn into the exchequer, at the loss of millions to the nation. I dare not say how much higher these profits may be augmented. The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserts the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house which does not choose to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty: even that chair, sir, sometimes looks towards S^{t}. James's. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops: I know the skill of your officers. But on this ground,—on the stamp act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will

lift up my hands against it. In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in its scabbard, but in the bowels of your countrymen. The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged: they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is, that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately: that the reason of the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever: that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.'

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Such was the substance of the most important speeches delivered on the question of address, when the house first met in this session, to consult upon American affairs. The difference of sentiment which prevailed in the cabinet was now become apparent; and the contest was not properly between ministry and opposition, but between those who favoured and those who disavowed American taxation. The address was carried without division, and was couched in such terms as to form a prologue to their intended measure of repealing

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the stamp act, by one conciliatory and conceding bill, and by another, of an opposite tendency, to declare, that our right of taxing the colonies was still to be claimed and asserted.

Previous to the introduction of these repealing and declaratory bills, it seemed good to ministers to examine such witnesses as might establish, in the public mind, the propriety of their measures. Of these the most important was Benjamin Franklin; and it is remarkable, that his evidence, if the expression of his private opinion could be called such, made it appear probable that the colonists would be satisfied with the repeal, even though an act should be passed declaring the right of parliament to impose taxes at pleasure. He declared his belief, however, that the assemblies never would be induced, either by kindness or compulsion, to abscind their resolution.

The declaratory act did not pass the house of lords without a strenuous opposition. Lord Camden, in favour of the same doctrine of taxation which Mr. Pitt had maintained in the lower house, pointed out the unfair and unconstitutional tendency of the bill; but the repeal of the stamp act was opposed by a party of very different political principles, with still more vehemence. A protest was signed against it by thirty-three peers, among whom, to the dishonour of their names, were found the signatures of Lyttleton, Bedford, and Temple. The last of these abettors of American taxation now retained so little of his whig principles, since his coalition with his brother, George Grenville, that he abandoned the support of Mr. Pitt, and adhered to the minister whose measures he had once so bitterly condemned.

The intelligence of the stamp act being repealed, was received in America with a general expression

of joy. Even the declaratory act which accompanied it, though operating as a check upon the hopes of the colonists, that they were to hold the free privilege of self-taxation, was not for many years after, and only when another odious tax was proposed, voted to be a grievance. The populace in the colonies, only capable to judge of the surface of things, and accustomed to regard the stamp act as the greatest of evils, hailed its repeal with acclamation; but some of the more intelligent and leading men saw in this event the dawn of their future independence of the mother country. The courts of justice now resumed their functions: the assemblies in the different provinces were called, and all animosities seemed for a while to be forgotten; yet, in the midst of this general festivity, many American patriots cautioned their countrymen against giving way to intemperate joy, reminding them, that although the stamp act was repealed, its principle had not been abandoned, and that the repeal had been rather extorted than granted. The provincial assemblies, to whom their respective governors held forth, with perhaps too much ostentation, the great mercy of the mother-country, were very ready to vote address of thanks to the king for the welcome repeal, but generally avoided any expressions which might seem proofs of their subordination to the British parliament.[1]

[1] In the same session of parliament in which the stamp-act had been repealed, a statute was enacted amending the annual mutiny act, which it had been usual to pass for the government of the troops in America. The intention of the amendment was to provide for the more comfortable subsistence of those troops, by supplying them with salt, vinegar, and beer; and the act directed, that the expence incurred for the supply of these articles should be raised by the assemblies of the respective colonies in which the troops were quartered. It so happened, by the accidental march of some troops in the province of New-York, that the governor of that province had occasion, on the day after he communicated to the assembly the repeal of the stamp-act, to apply to them for quarters for these troops; and in his message he specified the additional articles of salt, vine-

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The Rockingham administration, if the character of its members be seperately considered, was composed of respectable and able statesmen, who, if either guided by one remarkably powerful leader, or inspired with mutual confidence to act in concert, might have carried the nation along with them. But though all individually respectable, there was not one among them who rose to a great pre-eminence of talents; and what was still more unfortunate, their measures were not framed by common consent. On the day of debating the question of right to tax America, a confusion of opinions clearly appeared from their speeches. Mr. Nugent (afterwards Lord Clare), insisted, that the honour of the kingdom was pledged to support the stamp act; but after Mr. Pitt's irresistible eloquence had silenced the house, General Conway rose and declared his opinions to be entirely consonant to the views of the last speaker with regard to American taxation. The marquis of Rockingham himself was accused of being actively instrumental in bringing

gar, beer, or cyder, which he required to be furnished under the amended mutiny-act of parliament. He also informed them, that the troops were upon their march, and were daily expected at New-York. The assembly, however, was in no haste to take his message into consideration; nor did they present an address in answer to it, until after the arrival of the troops, who in the meantime were put to some inconvenience for want of quarters. In their address the assembly avoided noticing the act of parliament. They affected to consider the requisition as coming solely from the king, and agreed to furnish quarters for the troops, with such necessaries only as they had been formerly accustomed to furnish. This answer not proving satisfactory to the governor, another message was sent. And after various messages and addresses, the assembly at last positively refused to supply the troops with the additional articles required by the amended mutiny-act, seeming to consider it as not different in principle from the stamp-act, so far as it imposed a new burthen upon them. A disinclination to comply with this act of parliament appeared in several other colonies where troops were stationed; and in no one of them was the act specifically carried into execution. Means, it is true, were fallen upon to satisfy the troops. But the British parliament was not to be gratified, even at the small expence of furnishing the inconsiderable articles of salt, vinegar, and small beer.—*Stedman's History of the American war, vol. i, p. 51.*

forward the complaints of the merchants who suffered by the stamp act, and of arresting the public and parliamentary attention by the interesting examination of Franklin. Thus weakened by internal disagreement, they wanted the external prop of popularity. Mr. Pitt's immense influence over public opinion kept off the greater of the zealous whig interest from assisting them. Though whigs in their past conduct and principles, the declaratory act, stigmatized as it was by the voice of the most popular orator of the country, drew odium upon them from their own former adherents. At the same time the tory friends of Lord Bute were still numerous in office, and defied the whole ministerial power to remove them. A personal offence to his majesty, conspired with these causes, as in the case of the last administration, to accelerate their dismission; this was their omitting to apply to parliament for a provision to the younger brother of his majesty. Before, however, the Rockingham party resigned, they endeavoured to find favour with the nation by two very acceptable acts. The first was, introducing to parliament a bill for repealing so much of the cyder act as affected private persons, at the instance of the cyder counties, who earnestly petitioned for relief. The next was resuming under their patronage the patriotic endeavour to restrict the use of general warrants. A resolution passed the house of commons, on the 22d of April, that a general warrant for seizing or apprehending any person or persons, being illegal, except in cases provided for by the act of parliament, is, if executed on a member of the house of commons, a breach of privilege. A bill to restrain the issuing of warrants for seizing of papers, except in cases of treason, or felony without benefit of clergy, went accordingly through the house of commons, but was thrown out by the lords.

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During the long debates which had attended the repeal of the stamp act, the ministry had frequent conferences with the North-American and West-India merchants, by which means they had obtained considerable knowledge of the trade in those quarters of the world. In consequence of the information thus acquired, and of petitions from several of the trading towns in England, a bill was passed for opening free ports, under certain restrictions, in different parts of the West-Indies. Some important regulations were also made in the general commercial system of the colonies, and some restrictions taken off, which had been long complained of as heavy incumbrances.

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Although inadequate to the arduous task of consolidating factious interests, or commanding success in national objects, on a great scale, ministry shewed considerable spirit in certain subordinate affairs. From the peace of Utrecht in 1713, to the month of September 1765, all our demands concerning the demolition of Dunkirk had proceeded upon a wrong principle, as we had insisted only on levelling the land fortifications, which were of little importance to England, while it was the harbour alone that ought to have engaged our attention. Lord Rockingham's demands were therefore directed to the jetties which protect the channel into the harbour, and without which the harbour becomes unserviceable. His lordship ordered a breach to be made in the eastern jetty, near the middle, sufficient to admit the sea. All Dunkirk was filled with alarm; the sand was driven through the breach; it was fully manifest that the channel must be choaked up in a few days more. The French saw the effect of this breach, and instantly put a stop to the progress of the work. If Lord Rockingham's intentions had been realized, the ruin of Dunkirk, as a commercial port and a

naval station, must have been completed: but by his lordship's retiring the design was but half effected. The French, however, thought the harbour of this place of so much importance, that since the treaty of 1782 their attention has been wholly directed to widening, deepening, and enlarging it.

The session, so distinguished for this well-meant, but ineffectual, attempt to reconcile the pride of the mother-country with the present accommodation of the colonies, was prorogued on the 16th of June; and before it met again the Rockingham ministry was no more. The cause of their declining influence has been ascribed by whig writers to the secret displeasure of the sovereign, influenced, as was supposed, by the agency of that secret junto, still known by the name of the Leicester-house party, at the head of whom the favourite Lord Bute was accused of presiding. To this party, as well as to the royal personage, the repeal of the stamp act was said to be particularly disagreeable. It is not surprising that a whig ministry, disliked by the court, undermined by a tory party, and assailed in front by the terrors of Mr. Pitt's eloquence, could not hold its place.

The last act of the ministry was their plan for the government of Canada. When the peace of the American colonies was settled, they took into consideration the state of this recent conquest, and drew the outlines of a plan of government, of which the principal feature was to leave to the natives their ancient rights of property or civil laws, and to temper the rigour of their criminal code by the liberal principles of English jurisprudence. It is difficult to discern in this scheme any culpable defect of either principle or policy; and the framers of it obviated every objection, by proposing it should be sent to Quebec for the inspection of the

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governor of Canada, and the colonial crown lawyers; but the lord-chancellor Northington, naturally harsh and morose, and suspected, from the formation of the Rockingham ministry, never to have been the friend of the party, thought proper to regard the intended bill with asperity, and obtaining an audience of the king, declared it his opinion, that ministers so void of wisdom should be no longer allowed to preside. He resigned the great seal, and the dissolution of the cabinet immediately followed.

The dissolution of Lord Rockingham's ministry was begun by the defection of its own principal members. Mr. Conway coinciding with Mr. Pitt in his views respecting American politics, joined him with all his influence. The duke of Grafton resigned his office of state-secretary, on finding Mr. Pitt's assistance positively refused to the support of the party. His attachment to the great commoner he avowed publicly in the house of lords, declaring that 'he had no objection to the persons or the measures of the ministers he had recently acted with, but that he thought they wanted strength and efficiency to command success. He knew but one man who could give them that strength and solidity, (meaning Mr. Pitt); that under him he should be willing to serve in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer, and would take up a spade and a mattock.' The prospect of a new administration deterred even the candidates for public employments from accepting them in the present crisis, for fear of being speedily dismissed from the falling ministry, and excluded from a share in that which was to rise on its ruins. Of this number were, Lord Egmont, who refused the seals resigned by the duke of Grafton, and Lord Hardwicke, who, on their being next offered to him, alike declined them.

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In consequence of Lord Northington's negociation, Mr. Pitt was introduced to the king, at Richmond. His majesty's expression was, that he put himself entirely into his hands. After a conference with the chancellor, and some arrangements with his faithful friend General Conway, the intended minister invited his brother Lord Temple to see him at North-end, Hampstead, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His lordship went, and Mr. Pitt acquainted him, that his majesty had been graciously pleased to send for him to form an administration; and as he thought his lordship indispensable, he had desired his majesty to send for him, and put him at the head of the treasury, and that he himself would take the post of privy seal. He then produced a list of persons whose entrance into office he said was necessary, and not to be altered. Lord Temple replied, that he had indeed had the honour of waiting on his majesty, but had not understood that Mr. Pitt was to be *absolute master*; if he had, he should not have given himself the trouble of the present visit. Having the prospect of his brother George Grenville's support in the intended cabinet, (although excluded from all enjoyment of office), and deeming an union of opposing interests the best basis that could be laid for a powerful system of administration, he remonstrated against Mr. Pitt's assuming superior dictation, and urged his claims to an entire equality with him in official rank, and the distribution of places. Mr. Pitt asked his lordship, who were the persons whom he intended for cabinet employments? Lord Temple proposed Lord Lyttleton for the privy seal. This office Mr. Pitt had already taken for himself. His lordship then mentioned the post of lord president. Mr. Pitt said, the presidency was engaged, but offered to give him a pension, which the other rejected.

July 16.

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On the mention of a secretary of state, their opinions differed so widely (Mr. Pitt insisting on the continuance of General Conway in office, and the admittance of Lord Shelburne, circumstances inconsistent with the reception of Lord Gower to that office, which Lord Temple proposed) that the conference ended without hope of renewal, and with reciprocal marks of displeasure between these illustrious brothers, whose political and private friendship had so long continued stedfast and sincere. Mr. Pitt having made choice of the office of privy seal for himself, was necessarily created a peer. General Conway was continued in his post of state-secretary; the management of the house of commons was given to Mr. Townsend; and Lord Granby was put at the head of the army. Although popular throughout the bulk of the nation, from his high talents and approved integrity, Mr. Pitt was far from being beloved by many of his own principles in politics, owing to that unyielding haughtiness which conscious superiority gave to his language and manners. With a generous, yet an arrogant temper, (rendered irritable perhaps by the long continuance of sickness), he was unable to consummate by personal influence that command over the public mind which his genius procured to him. His offers in forming a new cabinet, to those whom he wished to partake of his employments, were conveyed in such proud terms as seemed to provoke, though unintentionally, the necessity of a refusal. He waited upon Lord Rockingham, with a view to coalesce all the whigs capable of being admitted into office; but his lordship was not to be reconciled, and refused to see his visitor although at home.

August.

The Chatham administration being at length arranged, one of its first acts was to reinstate Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, who had been deprived of his

sinecure of lord-privy-seal for Scotland, by the Grenville ministry, notwithstanding, when that office was bestowed on him, he had received the royal assurance that he was to enjoy it for life.[a] It serves to shew how little autocracy there exists in the British monarchy, when we find the king obliged, in 1765, to break his royal promise, at the instance of his *imperious servant* the duke of Bedford. Lord Chatham, sympathizing with the offended feelings and dignity of his sovereign, resolved to make reparation by restoring the deposed placemen; but Mackenzie being the brother of Lord Bute, this act was directly construed by the illiberal spirit of party into a coalition with the favourite. The peerage, which attended the minister's elevation, was also made the subject of much invidious speculation, and represented as a proof of his having come to a servile understanding with the court. To have vindicated the king's honour in the case of Mackenzie, was an act in the true spirit of this honourable man, whose zeal was ever ready to kindle at the first appearance of injustice, and though insignificant as a political event, it deserves to be noticed as a mark of that loyal reverence for his sovereign which, along with all his love of liberty, was conspicuous in Lord Chatham. The acceptance of a title, the well-earned meed of

a The following was the distribution of some of the chief places under Lord Chatham's ministry, commencing in 1766.—
Lord chancellor, Lord Camden.
Lord president, Lord Northington.
Lord privy seal, Lord Chatham.
Lord chamberlain, Lord Hertford.
Vice-chamberlain, Lord Villiers.
First lord of the treasury, duke of Grafton.
Chancellor of the exchequer, C. Townsend.
Lords of the treasury, Pryse Campbell, Thomas Townsend, George Onslow.
First lord of the admiralty, Sir Edward Hawke.
Secretary at war, Lord Barrington.
Paymasters, Lord North and George Cooke.
Lord lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Bristol.

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unequalled talents and unwearied services, can with as little justice be interpreted to his dishonour. The rewards conferred by a sovereign might be objects not worth the ambition of a character already supreme in reputation; but there is a fitness and a justice, that if honours and rank are, from the nature of the government, to be distributed on any heads, they should fall upon those which best deserve to wear them; and if peerage could not dignify Lord Chatham, his entrance into that order was at least enriching with an illustrious accession that part of the body politic, which, it is the advantage of our mixed constitution, should be filled with exalted characters. So captious, however, was the greater part of the whig-partizans, and of those especially who adhered to Lord Temple, that unqualified abuse was poured out upon the former object of their idolatry in all the vehicles of political declamation.

In our last review of Indian affairs, we brought the illustrious campaign of Major Adams to a close, and saw his antagonist Mir Cossim driven for refuge into the territories of his neighbour Sujah Dowlah. The reception of Mir Cossim without his army, and the giving shelter to Somers, the detestable perpetrator of the massacre at Patna, were all the symptoms of coalescing with our enemies which the nabob of Oude thought proper at first to display. But as in India the cause of a prince engaged with Europeans, was then regarded a common cause, he set on foot a negociation with the great mogul, Shaw Allum, to unite for the restoration of Cossim. Major Adams being now dead, the command devolved on Major Munro, an officer of signal abilities, who took the
October 22. field against the native allies in 1764. At a place called Bunard, on the river Camnossary, about 100 miles above Patna, the Major found the

Indian army encamped behind an extensive morass, with a wood to cover one of their flanks, and with every advantage that nature and art could bestow. In spite of these discouraging circumstances, still farther aggravated by disparity of numbers, the British and native troops, amounting to only 9,000, of which not more than a fifth part were Europeans, attacked the hostile army, and put them utterly to flight, with the loss of 6,000 men left on the spot, and of 130 pieces of cannon. Nothing now remained to the enemy on this side of the river but a single fort, called Chanda Geer; but it was a place exceedingly strong by position, standing on the top of an inaccessible rock on the very banks of the Ganges, 150 miles above Patna, easily defended, and easily supplied with provisions. The mode that would have been adopted in Europe for the siege of such a place would have been undermining or bombardment; but Major Munro, from some peculiarity of circumstances, thought such means unadvisable, and most unfortunately attempted to take it by storm. The troops endeavoured to scale the precipice at his command, but were immediately overwhelmed by the showers of stones which the besieged hurled down upon their heads, from an immense height. After two attempts, and two bloody repulses, they were recalled. Meanwhile the nabob Sujah Dowla, though lately defeated, had collected a fresh army; and, being instructed by the fate of former pitched battles, to avoid coming to a close rencounter with the British, hung upon their skirts with flying parties, and tried to cut them off from provisions. In this critical situation of his forces, Major Munro was called home: the temporary command devolved on Sir Robert Fletcher. Sir Robert resolving to make his short continuance in authority as brilliant as possible, determined upon attaking fort

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Chanda Geer in spite of the late repulse. He attempted to make breaches in the walls, and effected three, which were judged to be practicable. Whether in leading on his soldiers to the fort, through these breaches, he might not have met the same fate which his predecessor experienced, it is difficult to say; but at all events the ensuing attack must have been hazardous, had not the garrison, enraged at their governor for want of pay, obliged him to surrender, and thus afforded Sir Robert an easy triumph. The governor came out himself with the keys of the place, and, in sight of his troops, delivered them to the British commander. With tears in his eyes he addressed him, complimenting the valour of the English, and deploring that his mutinous followers would not suffer him to make a stand sufficiently noble to be worthy of such antagonists. Far from servilely imploring mercy of the captors, he claimed their favour as due to the exertions he had endeavoured to make. 'I have endeavoured,' said he, 'to act like a soldier; but, deserted by my prince, and left with a mutinous garrison, what could I do? God and you, (laying his hand on the Koran,) are witnesses that to the faith of the English I now trust my life and fortune.'

After this, Sir Robert made himself master of the enemy's capital, called Eliabad, a large city on the Ganges, between 60 and 70 miles above Chanda Geer, defended by high and thick walls, with a strong fort; and thus to all appearance was completed the ruin of the unfortunate Sujah Dowla. Soon after the taking of this place, General Carnac superseded Sir Robert Fletcher. The nabob of Oude was resolved not to fall in a weak or inglorious manner: he gathered forces together with great assiduity, and turned for assistance to the Marrattas, a race of warlike mountain-

eers, situate to the south west of Oude, who had never been entirely subdued by the Mogul Tartars, and who had occasionally alarmed the whole Indian peninsula by their inroads. Brave, however, as these new allies were, they could not stand before the army of General Carnac, but were defeated at a place called Calpi, and driven across the river Yumna to seek shelter in their own dominions. Three days after this decisive action, Sujah Dowla surrendered himself at discretion to the English, making no other stipulation in his own behalf than to wait the determination of Lord Clive (who was shortly expected from Europe), respecting his fate, preferring the chance of being generously treated by a civilized enemy to leading a fugitive life amidst the dangerous hospitality of his neighbours, but first permitting Mir Cossim, and his unworthy guest, the assasin Somers, to escape.

CHAP. VI. 1764. May 25, 1765.

During these transactions Mir Jaffier Aly Cawn, the nabob of Bengal, died, and was succeeded, according to his express bequest, by his eldest surviving son Najiem il Dowla. As he was a youth of moderate ambition, and likely to be a patient vicegerent of the English, it was determined in the council of Calcutta to support his succession. He received his nabobship under the most humbling conditions. Not allowed to support a standing army, in lieu of the saving which this deduction from his expenditure would occasion, he was to pay between £800,000 and £900,000 sterling a-year out of his treasury. He was to discard his prime-minister and favourite Nundcomar, and to receive a person in his room nominated by the council, and consequently destined to be a spy upon all his actions. No officers of his revenue were to be appointed by him, without the advice and consent of the company; and he was further bound to attend implicitly to any complaints that might be made

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against such as in the opinion of the nominators should act improperly. Disagreeable as these terms were, the young nabob opposed them in vain. In addition to his mortification, the minister Nundcomar, who had long held unbounded influence over his father, as he now did over himself, was sent prisoner to abide his trial at Calcutta for an alleged treasonable correspondence with Sujah Dowla. The nabob in vain wrote, intreated, prayed, the council of Culcatta, that they would spare this dishonour to his tenderest feelings.

May 3. When affairs were in this situation, Lord Clive arrived with full powers to act as commander in chief, president and governor of Bengal. There was also an unlimited power lodged in a select committee, consisting of his lordship and four other gentlemen, to act without dependence on the council of twelve, while the troubles in Bengal should last; after which indefinite period the council were to resume their authority. The select committee immediately set to work upon the plan of reformation. In this country, where riches had introduced venality, where protection is weak, and private property precarious, the established mode of transacting all business and treaties was by those corrupting donations which in polite language were called presents, but which in the language of a more moral society would be justly denominated bribes. The attention of Lord Clive, and of his select committee, was very soon after his arrival directed to cleansing this Augean stable of corruption. A strict inquisition was instituted into the manner of obtaining these presents; and several resolutions were entered into, severely reflecting upon the council, as well as upon those gentlemen who had received them. Luxury and corruption, it was affirmed, and the extreme avidity for making immense fortunes within a short period, had so totally infected the company's servants, that

nothing less than a general reform could preserve the settlement from immediate destruction. 'Fortunes,' (said Lord Clive), 'of £100,000 had been made within two years, and individuals very young in the service were returning home with a million and a half of money.

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After arranging the civil interests of the company, Colonel Clive proceeded to act in his military capacity: he joined the army at Eliabad; and finding, on his arrival, that to ruin the territory of Oude would be breaking down the barriers between Bengal and the Mahrattas, he concluded peace with Sujah Dowla, on terms that left the nabob considerable power, while they secured to the English 50 lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expences of the war. A treaty was also entered into with the mogul, by which the company were constituted his perpetual decans, or factors, of the Bengal provinces, in return for which they were to pay to that potentate 26 lacks of rupees, about £325,000 sterling. They engaged to allot to the nabob of Bengal, for the expence of the civil government and for the support of his dignity, 53 lacks of rupees yearly, amounting, in English money, to £662,000. The remainder of the revenues of Bengal was left to them, for their expences in supporting armies to protect the country. The nabob and his ministers were permitted, indeed, to collect the revenues, but were accountable to the company as holding the office of king's decan. By the advantages accruing from this treaty, Lord Clive affirmed the company would be put in possession of a clear yearly revenue, exempt from all deductions, amounting to £1,700,000 sterling.

August 1765.

Having thus advantageously terminated a war, which in its commencement threatened to shake the British interests in India to their very founda-

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tion, his lordship applied himself to one special branch of his mission, the restoration of economy in the army. The enmity against him, excited by his determined measures for expelling venality and corruption from the servants of the company, was greatly increased by this attack upon the riches of the forces. It had been usual to allow the military in Bengal a double allowance of subsistence, a practice unknown in other parts of the country. There had been once a necessity for this, in consequence of the expensive situation to which the company's troops were exposed; but that necessity no longer existed, a portion of the salt-trade being assigned to the officers, and ample provision made for their widows and children. Lord Clive's instructions accordingly were, to discontinue the additional allowance. In consequence of this resolution, a very dangerous conspiracy was formed in the army of Bengal among the officers. They bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, raised a fund of money among themselves, and established committees of secret correspondence. The object of this confederacy was to procure an abolition of the new covenants, by which the company's servants were restrained from accepting presents from the princes of the country,—the annihilation of the select committee, and the future independence of officers in India of others appointed in Britain, by whom they were subject to be superseded. The first intelligence of this, which reached Lord Clive, was communicated by Sir Robert Fletcher. The affair began at Monghir, where some European soldiers flew to arms in open revolt; and it was intended that, in a few days, all the confederated officers should resign their commissions, and thereby perplex government for want of leaders to the troops. The plan adopted by Lord Clive, to counteract these designs, was judicious, and de-

tisively accomplished. With some superior officers, and the aid of a black regiment, he brought back the mutineers to their duty; and by distributing commissions among the non-commissioned officers, very soon made the conspirators sensible of their forlorn condition, since they found themselves supplanted in rank by those whom they expected to be their followers. These unfortunate men were now incapable of offering resistance; their submission was complete; some of them implored, and obtained, pardon: a considerable number were tried for mutiny and desertion; but although the law was capable of a stricter interpretation, it was leniently exercised: the severest punishments were dismissions and reprimands. Affairs being now so eminently prosperous in India, the proprietors of India-stock demanded an augmentation of their dividends. These dividends had been reduced during the war from 8 to 6 per cent. In spite of all the insidious opposition of the directors, they were raised to 10. Notice was at the same time given, by the first lord of the treasury, to the company, to prepare their papers for a public examination of their affairs, which was expected to be instituted at the next meeting of parliament. CHAP. VI. 1766.

During the latter part of this year, the unceasing continuance of bad weather occasioned an alarming failure of the harvest. The price of grain having risen, both from the actual scarcity, and, according to general opinion, by the practices of forestalling and monoply, it was judged expedient to issue a proclamation for preventing these offences. The fury of the populace breaking out in many places, produced scenes of additional distress; the military were called in, and many lives were lost. Another proclamation succeeded soon after, prohibiting the exportation of grain;

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and an embargo was laid on all outward-bound ships laden with corn.[3]

1766. Nov. 11.

When parliament met in November, the first subject submitted to their consideration was the late crisis of scarcity, in which the privy-council conceived themselves justified by the alarming prospect of famine, in imposing the embargo we have now mentioned, of their own authority, and without the sanction of the legislature. The scarcity formed the principal topic of the king's speech. 'The urgency of the necessity,' (said his majesty), 'called upon me to exert my authority for the preservation of the public safety against a growing calamity, which could not admit of delay. I have therefore, by the advice of my privy-council, laid an embargo on wheat, and wheat-flour, going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken.' In both houses a most interesting debate ensued upon the motion for an address. Ministry having introduced a bill of indemnity in favour of those officers who had acted under the orders of council, the exertion of prerogative underwent a severe discussion. Dispensing with the authority of parliament, even under circumstances of the most imperious necessity, was regarded by a strong party in parliament as illegal and tyranical, hostile to the very principles of the constitution. To express, therefore, a due detestation of this improper proceeding, it was voted, in an amendment to the address, to include in the bill of indemnity the ministers who had advised, as well as the officers

3 This summer the Princess Matilda, daughter of the late prince of Wales, was married, in the sixteenth year of her age, to the king of Denmark. This union, which proved afterwards so disastrous to the unhappy princess, was expected to produce a connection between the two countries politically advantageous. Her highness brought a portion to his Danish majesty of £100,000.—In the course of the year died the Chevalier de St. George, pretender to the crown of Britain, in the 78th year of his age, leaving two sons; Charles, who headed the rebellion in 1745, and the second a Romish cardinal.

who had executed, this undue stretch of royal power. At the time this measure had been agitated in council, Lord Chatham, though confined to his house by sickness, had sent a message with his strenuous advice for the embargo. It was remarkable, indeed, to see this venerable statesman, whose voice had been ever loudest for the rights of the people, exerting himself, on this occasion, to assert a prerogative in the crown, which his opponents in politics had but too strong reasons to demonstrate, in confutation of his opinion, to be dangerous both to law and liberty. It exhibited also a strange transposition of pleaders, when a no less strenuous defender of freedom, Lord Camden, defended the cause of ministers in the house of lords upon this occasion, and contended, that their prohibition had been only a due exercise of prerogative; the crown being, according to his lordship's idea, the sole executive power, it is to be entrusted with the safety of the state during the recess of parliament, which can be at most but a 40 days tyranny. The lords Mansfield, Temple, and Lyttleton, stood forth with becoming dignity to oppose this violation of the constitution. Dispensing with the consent of parliament, these speakers affirmed, was an act of undue authority so odious, that it was expressly mentioned in the bill of rights as one of the grievances endured under the despotism of James II. Necessity, 'the tyrant's plea,' could no more be urged in the present question than any other; for under no tyranny on earth was any pretext held out but the good of the people. 'Forty days tyranny,' was censured as an expression ill becoming the noble lord who had uttered it, who had risen by his pretensions to be the promoter of free principles. That noble lord had been often heard to say, that the price of one hour's English liberty none could tell but an Eng-

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lish jury. But '40 days tyranny over the nation, by the crown, who could endure the thought?' 'My lords,' said the speaker, 'less than 40 days tyranny, such as the country has sometimes felt, would, I believe, bring your Lordships together, without a summons, from your sick-beds, riding even upon post-horses in hot weather, faster than our great patriots themselves to get a place or a pension, or both; and for ought I know, make the subject of your consultations that appeal to heaven, which has been spoken of: yet establish a dispensing power, and you cannot be sure of either liberty or laws for 40 minutes.' 'Prerogative,' continued the speaker, 'is a power, and it is a duty also, to protect the people; but a dispensing power is no part of the prerogative, nor for the safety and protection of the people; and I am astonished how a house of lords could have patience to sit and hear so much of it. The dispensing and suspending power, and the raising of money, without consent of parliament, were declared to be precisely alike, and standing on the very same ground. They were born twins; they lived together, and together were buried in the same grave at the revolution, beyond all power of resurrection. If a difference were made between raising money, and the suspending or dispensing power, the latter power must be considered as the most dangerous, as that which might do most universal mischief, and with the greatest speed. Rashly or wilfully to claim, or exercise, as a prerogative, a power clearly against law, is too great boldness for this country; and the suspending or dispensing power, that edged tool which has got so deep, is the last that any man in his wits would handle in England: that rock which the English history has warned against with such awful beacons: an attempt that lost two princes their crowns, and

one his head, and that at length expelled his family out of this land of liberty to the regions of tyranny.' In the course of these debates, the necessity of the embargo was universally admitted; the illigality of dispensing authority was alone objected to. Parliament even sanctioned the conduct of ministers by an address to the king, requesting him to continue the embargo, and to extend it to several other species of grain. CHAP. VI. Dec. 9. 1766.

During no administration in which Lord Chatham presided had so respectable an opposition appeared; and, for the first time, that great minister found himself obliged to negociate, nay even to solicit, for support from surrounding statesmen. Having in vain attempted to attach the Bedford interest to his side, (a measure which the late improper behaviour to the royal personage rendered impracticable), he made some arrangements in office, with a view to withdraw adherents from that powerful family of aristocracy, and prevent it from having full scope in opposition. He gave a peerage to the marquis of Lorne, which had been denied to the request of the duke of Bedford: at the same time Mr. Nugent, who was placed at the head of the board of trade, was created Lord Clare. The invidious objections thrown out against the minister's acceptance of a peerage, however insignificant, when considered separately, were still impediments to his influence when combined with a still more unpopular proceeding, to which the necessity of forming a comprehensive cabinet obliged him to resort. This was a coalition with the court-party, so far as to admit a list of appointments, of which the very names announced their having risen by the Bute interest. Lord Despencer, who had been Lord Bute's chancellor of the exchequer, was made postmaster. Mr. Jenkinson, (Lord Liverpool), who had been Lord Bute's private secre-

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tary, was made a lord of the admiralty. Lord Chatham was considered as having trusted to promises of support, and he gave them full credit; for he believed them to be sincere. But although he filled the vacant offices, yet the appointments proceeded, in too many instances, not from choice but from necessity; and this circumstance being notorious to those whom he selected, they did not regard him as a willing benefactor, but as a reduced and mortified superior. He now regretted in earnest the loss of his brother Lord Temple: he had no repository for his confidence, no solace for his hours of affliction. Grief, vexation, and disappointment, preyed upon his nerves, which, though in early life naturally strong, were now become weak by age and infirmity. He was agitated by contending passions,—with a mind sometimes vigorous, but often depressed,—his body tortured by pain, and imprisoned by infirmity,—he at length fell into a paroxysm of the gout at Bath, which seemed to threaten his existence.

During his absence, a character, fresh and brilliant in the political world, seemed ready to succeed to a considerable share of his influence and power. This was Charles Townsend, a descendant of that illustrious Viscount Townsend who had so ably served the house of Brunswick. He was more distinguished for a quick understanding, and a brilliant style of eloquence, for wit, subtlety, and intrigue, than for solid strength of genius, or dignified integrity. To the high popularity of Chatham he never could have succeeded; but his ambition appeared to have a favourable scope at the present period, when, by the secession of the Newcastle, Bedford, and Rockingham, interests, and by the general debility of the cabinet, through Chatham's ill health, there was, upon the whole, no man of equal genius to himself in court-favour

and public office. He therefore redoubled his assiduities to the court, and was evidently in high estimation with it. His death, which happened next year, deprived the country of a witty and eloquent speaker, but certainly neither of a patriot nor a great man. CHAP. VI. 1765.

After attending to the internal interests of the nation, it was the next object of the legislature to make some political arrangements for the colonies. Among the events of the present year, that we had occasion to notice, was the disrespectful conduct of the assembly of New-York, in slighting an act passed during the last session, for providing the British troops with necessaries in their American quarters. On this affair being brought before the house, a bill was passed, by which the governor, council, and assembly, of New-York, were prohibited from passing or assenting to any act of assembly, till the assembly had done a due homage to the dignity of British legislature, by obeying the terms of this regulating act; a restriction which, though limited to one colony, was intended as a lesson of humiliation for all.

If the last ministry had seemed, by the opposition they encountered, and by the manner of their separation, to have fallen from their own weakness, it did not appear from the events of the passing session, that a much greater portion of internal vigour was possessed by the present cabinet, although the greatest hopes had been entertained, that their influence would be strong and permanent. In attempting to produce a change upon the land-tax, the strength of the administration was weighed and found wanting. In consequence of the last expensive war, the poor and laborious part of the community felt, with increasing uneasiness, the pressure of these taxes, which bore peculiarly upon them. As the land-tax, already raised to four

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shillings in the pound, was now considered as a part of the settled revenue, it was thought better to continue the tax at its present height, than to burden, by new impositions, the general necessaries of life for the service of the year. To the surprise and disappointment of ministers, a resolution passed the house, which reduced the land-tax for the present year to three shillings in the pound.

But the great business of the house related to the India company. A committee having been appointed as early as the 25th of November, to inspect the state of the company's affairs, their correspondence with servants in India, and the state of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, as well as the naval and military expences of government on the company's account, an order was made for printing the East-India papers. To this the court of directors made violent opposition, as tending to expose confidential correspondence. A restrictive amendment was therefore put to the order, by which private letters were saved. This scrutiny into Indian matters was fraught with disputable topics of serious and extensive importance, and was only second in consequence to those American questions which were agitated in the last session. The right of the company to their territorial possessions and conquests was denied by one party in parliament, as by no means inherent in the charters of a trading corporation; if admissible, it was even, they contended, still burthened in its revenues by the debt due to government for its fostering protection. The opposite party, who espoused the interests of the company, protested against such a political doctrine, as hostile to the public faith, and infringing the sacredness of property. If the crown had claims on India, there were courts (they said) open for the discussion of those claims, but the house of commons was incompetent to in-

terpret laws in a judicial capacity. Towards the end of the session, a convention between government and the company was made, and the following terms were passed into a law on the 24th of June, under the title of a bill 'for establishing an 'agreement between government and the East-'India company.' By this stipulation, the chartered company were to pay to government £400,000 annually for two years, by half yearly payments, during which time, the territory and revenues lately obtained were to continue in the hands of the present possessors; but if they were deprived of any of them by a foreign power, a proportional abatement was to be made in the annual payments, and money erroneously paid was to be refunded. On the 6th of May, at a general meeting of the court of directors, the half yearly dividend from midsummer to christmas was fixed at the rate of twelve and a half (per annum). In consequence of this meeting, a petition was presented to parliament, containing two plans for a temporary accommodation, to continue for three years. In the first of these, government was to grant the company some advantages with respect to inland duties on their teas, and a drawback on the exportation of those teas to Ireland and the colonies, with some other benefits in reference to raw silk muslins, the recruiting service, and military stores. As a return for these, after deducting £400,000 a-year, in lieu of the company's former commercial profits, the nett remainder of revenue and trade was to be divided, all charges previously deducted, between government and the company, provided the latter continued to possess their new acquisitions for three years. By the second proposals, the company offered, upon the same terms, to pay the specific sum for three years, by half yearly payments, and to indemnify the public for any loss the revenue

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might be at by granting them advantages in the tea trade, if the advanced consumption of it, taken at an average of five years, did not answer that end. In answer to these proposals, a bill passed the house of commons, on the 12th of June, accepting the latter, but limiting the duration to two, instead of three, years. The resolution of the court of directors, to increase the dividends, was already mentioned. Ministry remonstrated against it, but to no effect; in consequence of which, two bills were brought into the house; one for regulating the qualifications of voters in trading companies, and the other for farther regulating the dividends of the East-India company. By the last of these bills, the company were debarred from raising their dividends above ten per cent. till the next meeting of parliament. The arguments in favour of this bill, which underwent a very violent discussion, were founded on three principal reasons.—The danger of allowing dividends to be made by the company disproportioned to the state of their funds and credit: that of allowing a fluctuation in India stocks, by which a spirit of gaming was introduced into the country, which, if they were at all elevated, was cherished at the expence of the other stocks, and the reduction of the national debt thereby obstructed: thirdly, the impolicy of allowing any dividend of the company to hazard an encroachment on the revenue of its late territorial acquisitions, in case the claims of the public should be disappointed by the misfortunes or loss of that territory. A spirited resistance was made to this rescinding bill. The company, in their turn, petitioned parliament as ineffectually as ministry had remonstrated with them: but the numbers of the minority, on this occasion, although the bill was passed, shewed that the strength of administration was still far from being

confirmed. In the house of lords, a protest was signed against it, full of copious animadversions on its alleged impropriety, by nineteen peers.

The influence and character of Charles Townsend in this administration has been already noticed. It was by his fertile ingenuity, unhappily applied, with metaphysical discrimination, to the subject of external and internal taxation, that in this session was introduced a new tax, fatal in its consequences to the harmony between Britain and her colonies. During most of the recent debates in parliament on American subjects, as well as in the political pamphlets published on that continent, in opposition to the stamp act, it had been customary to expatiate on the essential difference between customs imposed on the exports and imports of external commerce, and the raising of money by taxes levied in the manner of the stamp act. The new ministry, laying hold of this distinction, availed themselves of the supposed concession, and procured an act of parliament to be passed for imposing certain duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters colours, and tea, payable upon the importation of these articles into the American colonies. These duties, when collected, were, in the first instance, to be applied to the making a provision for the administration of justice and the support of civil government in those colonies where it should be necessary, and the residue was to be paid into the exchequer of England, to be disposable for the same uses as the former duties imposed in the year 1764. The act also contained a clause for discontinuing the drawback payable on the exportation of China ware to America, and settled some new regulations for preventing the clandestine trade of goods in the colonies. At the same time another act was passed for putting these and all the other customs and duties under the ma-

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nagement of commissioners, who were to be resident in America.

The temporary quiet produced in the colonies, by the revocation of the stamp act, was thus broken up. But little discernment was requisite to perceive, that although the long established practice of England ruling the commercial interests of America, by external duties, had been sanctioned by time, and by the consent of the colonists themselves, yet, as the avowed object of these impositions had always been regulation of trade, and not raising revenue, the present renewal of taxation, different as it was in shape, was, in spirit and in object, the same with the act so lately repealed. It appeared to be taking a captious advantage of the late acknowledgments of our trans-antlantic subjects to seize upon their distinction, between admissable and illegal taxes so instantly, as an apology for raising revenue. The dead letter of the distinction was indeed observed, but the spirit of the American arguments against taxation was flagrantly violated. America felt conscious of that incontrovertible truth which, on the last debate on colonial affairs, Lord Chatham had so powerfully inforced, that in the advantages of her exclusive trade the main value of the colonies existed. This was the price which they paid to Britain for protection. Our commerce was free to all the world; theirs, with a few insignificant exceptions, was enjoyed and monopolized by ourselves. We were the sole receptacle of their increasing produce and exports, which filled our merchantmen with cargoes for universal trade. If, instead of calculating the mean advantages to be strained out of America, by squeezing and shackling her with external taxes, ministers had contemplated the benefits to be enjoyed from a cordial understanding, they would have adopted a different system. America

was averse to taxes: to impose them, even with the plea of strict law, was impolitic, and especially while their memories were yet fresh with indignation at the framers of the stamp act. CHAP. VI. 1766.

The first public instance of disgust in America was displayed in Boston, where, at a meeting of the inhabitants, several resolutions were entered into, for the encouragement of home manufactures, the promoting of economy, and the lessening and restraining the use of foreign superfluities. In order more fully to mark their displeasure at the new duties, it was resolved to give particular encouragement to the manufacture, among themselves, of those articles on which the duties were imposed; and, in general, it was recommended to use few or none of the commodities exported from the mother country that could at all be procured in the colonies. October 1767.

The long and important session by which the American act was passed terminated on the 2d of July. Unfortunately it was deprived of the enlightened guidance of the noble lord who had formed the administration, owing to the continuance of his ill health. There is every reason to suppose, that, but for this unhappy absence from the public councils, a measure so pernicious would never have been adopted. A few days after the rising of parliament, the king wrote a letter with his own hand to Lord Chatham, who lay sick at Hampstead, acquainting him with his resolution to make some alterations in his servants, and desiring his assistance or advice. Lord Chatham returned a verbal answer, to this effect: 'That such was his ill state of health that his majesty must not expect from him any farther advice or assistance, in any arrangement whatever.'

From this circumstance it was known, that offers were to be made to some members of the op-

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position for a new administration. The duke of Newcastle, alarmed at the danger of the opposition being divided, conversed with the friends of all the leaders, and pressed upon them the indispensable necessity of faithfully keeping together. Lord Bute was said, on the other hand, to make immediate exertions, in concert with Lord Holland, for the formation of such a cabinet as should correspond with his own ideas. The marquis of Rockingham, being regarded as the most accessible of the opposition, was first applied to, through the medium of the duke of Grafton. At the second conference, his lordship asked the duke, whether he was treating with the king's minister or with the duke of Grafton? The duke answered, 'with the king's minister;' confessing, at the same time, the source of the application from which an offer was made to his lordship of the office now filled by himself. Lord Rockingham would conclude nothing without conferring with his friends. On the 11th of July he set out to consult the duke of Bedford at Wooburn. His grace declared his willingness to acquiesce in the marquis's appointment, as it was the wish of his majesty, and would tend to conciliate parties; but though renouncing all claim to a situation for himself, he insisted on reserving a power of nominating some of his friends in the new arrangement. He stated his terms conditionally, it being his intention to advise with Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville. These gentlemen, when consulted, concurred with Lord Rockingham in the idea of a comprensive cabinet, which the two brothers promised to support, although out of employment, as Mr. Grenville desired that his name should not be obtruded on the king. Their only conditions were, that whoever were ministers should assert and establish the supremacy of Great Britain over America, and that some of their party

should be admitted to honourable and becoming situations. The duke of Newcastle, when applied to, expressed the same willingness to coalesce, and made the same stipulation in behalf of his friends. Lord Rockingham having communicated this plan of a broad and comprehensive system to the duke of Grafton, it was laid before his majesty. An answer was returned in two days, 'that his majesty adopted and approved of the idea of a comprehensive system, and hoped it was not meant to exclude his friends, and those about his person:' for the rest he entirely agreed. The royal answer occasioned a meeting, at Newcastle house, of some of the principal political characters,—the dukes of Bedford, Newcastle, Richmond, and Portland; the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Sandwich; Viscount Weymouth; Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Rigby, and Admiral Keppel. A letter was read from Mr. Grenville, promising support to the new administration, provided the dependance and obedience of America was *asserted and maintained.* This letter was like the apple of discord in the preparatory meeting of the intended administration. Lord Rockingham defended his ideas respecting America, which were liberal and conciliatory, when compared with those of the followers of Grenville. The different opinions were reconciled, by substituting the words supported and established for asserted and maintained, in Mr. Grenville's letter. The marquis then proposed himself for the first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Dowdeswell for chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Conway for secretary of state and minister of the house of commons. Here the duke of Bedford dissented, insisting that he knew, from experience, Mr. Conway's province should be confined to the military, and not extended to a civil, capacity, for which he maintained that his former conduct had

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given ample proofs of his unfitness. Lord Rockingham's opinion of General Conway being inconsistent with this exclusion, the conference was here at an end: no other particulars or conditions were even mentioned. The appointment for General Conway, at which the negociating parties stumbled, as if at the threshold of their coalition, was that of minister of the house of commons, or, as he has been sometimes called, the first efficient minister. Lord Rockingham wanted Mr. Conway, because he intended to persevere in his own system with respect to America. The duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville, in consistency with their own plans, wished for one of their own creatures, Mr. Rigby, for the same confidential situation. America was therefore the true cause of the breaking off of this conference: subsequent events have proved whose policy was right. At another meeting in the house of the duke of Newcastle, the attempt was renewed to establish a comprehensive and firm administration; but the marquis of Rockingham still adhering to his former condition respecting Mr. Conway, and the duke of Bedford standing out against it, the conference ceased, never to be resumed. These negociations took place in the month of July. In September, the death of Charles Townsend, who filled the office of chancellor of the exchequer, threw the ministry, already weak and distracted, into still deeper embarrassment. Every effort having proved abortive to form a new arrangement, Mr. Townsend's place, of chancellor of the exchequer, was offered to several gentlemen, who refused to accept of it. Lord North, who, during Mr. Grenville's administration, had been intrusted with all the motions against Mr. Wilkes, was desired to succeed Mr. Townsend; but he at first declined it. After holding out against three weeks solicitation, he

yielded to the influence of the princess of Wales. A partial revolution now commenced in the cabinet. Lord Northington and General Conway, perceiving that Lord Chatham, though he still nominally retained the privy seal, was, in fact, withdrawn from public business, resolved to resign. The Bedford interest, succeeding to them in the support of ministry, put in Lord Weymouth as secretary of state, and made Lord Gower lord president, in the place of Northington. Lord Hillsborough was appointed *secretary of state for America*, an office heretofore unknown, the creation of which seemed to announce to the colonies that the court was preparing to make them the objects of some extraordinary measure. On the 24th of November, parliament assembled. In his majesty's speech, the principal object of their meeting was declared to be the consideration of the prevailing scarcity and dearth of corn. Interference on the part of government, in regulating the price of necessaries, is (if ever to be justified) a hazardous and delicate point. Though undue speculations are very common in other articles of merchandize, they are seldom attempted in corn, not because the dealers in it are less inclined to amass profits than other dealers, but that it is attended with much more risk, grain being a perishable article, and very expensive in keeping. Monopolizing any article of merchandize has seldom or ever been attempted by any society or man of real fortune, and it would be the highest folly to attempt it in corn. The trade must tend to its natural level, and it is not in the power of all the ingrossers in the kingdom, though combined, to prevent it. The encouragement of agriculture and of importation are the only proper preventives of famine. Parliament wisely directed its attention

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to these objects, and passed a bill for importing wheat and flour from Africa.

In the autumn of the year 1767 died, at Monaco in Italy, Edward duke of York, eldest brother to the king, a prince of pleasing manners and considerable courage. Beyond these qualifications his merit did not seem to rise; for he was known to possess very dissolute morals, and but a scanty portion of real knowledge and accomplishments. The popular recommendation of bravery, for which all his family have ever been conspicuous, brought him into notice at an early period of his life. In Lord Howe's attack upon Cherbourg he served as a naval officer, with distinguished credit. As panegyric is never slow to echo the praises of princely merit, when it appears even in the smallest degree, his royal highness's death was the theme of much loyal lamentation in the obituary records of the day.

This session was marked by the proposition of a bold and useful restriction of the resumption of crown-grants. A grant had been made to the first earl of Portland, by William III, of the honour of Penrith in Cumberland, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging. Among these supposed appurtenances the family had rested in quiet possession of the forest of Inglewood, and the manor and castle of Carlisle, although not specified in the grant. Sir James Lowther, informed of this circumstance, presented a memorial to the lords of the treasury, stating his discovery, and praying for a lease for three lives upon these domains. His request was granted, in spite of the duke of Portland's remonstrances. The case, however, being tried before the barons of exchequer, Sir James Lowther was nonsuited. A bill was introduced upon this occasion, proposing to restrict the

right of resuming crown-grants to the term of sixty years. The opposers of the proposition maintained, that the tenements in question were neither expressed nor understood in the crown-grant: that the crown, therefore, did not resume a grant, but only claimed as its own what had never been given away. After some indecisive debates, the question was adjourned till next year. The supplies and other business being settled, parliament dissolved on the 10th of March. CHAP. VI. 1767.

Thus closed the first parliament of George III, distinguished, perhaps, by a greater share of abilities, and yet attended with less ultimate advantage to the empire, than any previous parliament since the revolution. Although the outset of his majesty's reign was crowned with a favourable peace,—although the whig interest prevailed, and the great leading families of the nation had no small share of influence in public affairs,—although cabinets were formed, comprehending, and apparently reconciling, discordant interests, in which talents that the world has never since seen rivalled were called into action, yet, from some fatal propensity to disunion, (for the union of these men was at no time stedfast) all the first seven years of this reign present one lamentable scene of instability. Every act of the legislative body seemed a contradiction to the preceding. General warrants were first sanctioned, and then, by a subsequent statute, they were condemned. The business of America was still more inconsistently conducted. A gross, yet deliberate, impolicy first induced the legislature to exert a prerogative in taxation which every argument of reason and utility soon proved to be unfounded. This was retracted, but not in such a manner as to quiet the alarmed suspicions of the colonists; and the tax, disguising itself like

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a Proteus, broke out anew, under a shape only calculated to insult the understandings of its victims.

Subsequent events merely consummated the evils of which the foundations were laid by a few statutes of this parliament.

CHAP. VII.

Election of a new parliament.... Wilkes returns to England, and stands candidate for Middlesex.... Violence of popular favour in his behalf.... Reduction of Corsica by the French .... discontents in England at that event.... Lord Chatham withdraws from office.... King's speech at the opening of parliament in November 1768.... *Proceedings of the discontented party in America.... Petition heard from the inhabitants of Massachusets-bay.... Coalesced opposition of the Grenville and Rockingham parties to ministerial measures towards America.... Advice of parliament to his majesty, to renew the obsolete statute of Henry VIII, respecting the punishment of offenders beyond seas... Reception of the proposal in America.... Mr. Wilkes brought before parliament.... Is expelled upon a complaint of privilege made by Lord Weymouth.... Meeting of the Middlesex electors in consequence of his expulsion.... Mr. Wilkes is re-elected for Middlesex. .... His re-election declared void by parliament.... Colonel Lutterell stands for Middlesex, and in spite of inferior numbers is declared member, by the decision of the house of commons .... debates on this subject.... King's speech.... Affairs in India.... War with Hyder Aly.... Petitions from different counties on the decision of the Middlesex election.... Proceedings of parliament,... debates of the lords.... debates of the commons.... Octennial parliamentary bill for Ireland.*

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THE succeeding election revived the fury of domestic faction, and brought again into notice a political character who seemed to have closed his career. John Wilkes, whose opposition to the Bute ministry has been already related, finding

CHAP. VII. 1768. himself in exile, and in deplorable circumstances, and, from his outlawry having run beyond the limits the law allowed for reversal, cut off from the protection of his native country, besought the new ministry, in submissive terms, to pardon his offences, and allow him once more to return to Britain. As many characters of the present administration had acted, if not in the same phalanx of opposition with Mr. Wilkes, at least against a common adversary, it was expected that considerable influence would have been used for obtaining his pardon; but his application was treated with indignant contempt, and all his hopes were now founded on rousing, by a desperate exposure of his person and liberty to the vengeance of government, the remaining portion of public sympathy for his supposed martyrdom, which had survived his infamy and his ill fortune. He accordingly came over to England, previous to the general election; and, in bold defiance of his outlawry, declared himself a candidate to represent the city of London in parliament. Not only the rabble received him with applause, but several persons of distinction encouraged him with their countenance and their purse. It required all the efforts of government influence to defeat his attempt in London. Though baffled, he nevertheless set up for the county of Middlesex, where, in spite of ministers and of rich and powerful competitors, he carried his election by a large majority. As the outlawry was still in full force against him, to prevent his being apprehended he wrote to the solicitor, and deputy-solicitor, of the treasury, pledging his honour as a gentleman, that he would personally appear in the court of king's-bench, on the first day of the ensuing term. The new parliament being summoned, with Sir John Cust as speaker, a motion was made that the proper crown-lawyer might re-

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port to the house why the laws were not immediately put in execution against John Wilkes, an outlaw, who had been returned to England since February. Wilkes appeared in the court of king's-bench, according to his promise; and as no precedent could be found of a person in his circumstances being delivered to bail, he was ordered into custody. The populace, however, stopt the coach in which he was conveyed, and carried off their favourite in triumph to a public-house in Spittlefields. From thence he made his escape, and surrendered himself to the marshal of the king's-bench. Every day an immense crowd assembled round the prison for some time after his confinement, and evinced, in a tumultuous manner, such contempt of the public peace, as at length called for the interference of the military. On the day of the opening of parliament they demanded Mr. Wilkes's enlargement, in order that he might take his seat in parliament: every persuasive effort to appease them having failed, the soldiers were ordered to fire, and about 20 persons were either killed or wounded. The circumstance of a young man being shot, after he had fled from the soldiers, and taken refuge in an out house belonging to his father, raised a considerable ferment in the public mind; and what increased the popular odium, the regiment employed was chiefly composed of Scotchmen; and from the late contest of Wilkes with Lord Bute, supposed to have been stimulated by national antipathy. In the meantime the press teemed with inflammatory libels, suited to the capacities of the licentious politicians, whose passions were excited by the present scenes. Harley, the lord mayor, for the share he had taken as a public magistrate against Mr. Wilkes, viz. superintending the burning of his book by the hands of the hang-

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man, became an object of their violent animosity.[1] The mansion-house was assailed by frequent mobs. But what was alarming, far beyond these public effervescences, was the discovery of combinations among the meanest ranks of society, to avail themselves of the general distress, by means the most dangerous and illicit.

Although such disturbances as these, coming from the very lowest classes of the people, could not be taken as fair criteria of the opinion entertained of administration by that portion of the public whose opinions were entitled to weight and respect, there were political events that happened nearly at the same time, which tended unfortunately still more to weaken government in the estimation of the country. The removal of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, a veteran in the public service, from his government of America, which, by long prescription, was regarded as a sinecure, gave tokens of a harsh and ungrateful disposition, that displeased many impartial observers, and in particular disgusted Lord Chatham, whose loss of favour was too important not to be felt.

During the last year, the French court purchased of the Genoese the claim of that republic to the island of Corsica; and this year a French army landed on the island to take possession of it. This measure, it was expected, would have produced much opposition in Europe; but the French minister contrived such arrangements as deterred the British government from any active interference; and the king of Sardinia, the only other power interested in behalf of the oppressed islanders, was too weak to provoke hostilities. The gallant resistance of the

[1] In the court of king's bench Mr. Wilkes's outlawry was reversed; but he was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, computed from the time of his arrest, to pay two fines £500, and to find two sureties in £500 each for his good behaviour during seven years.

Corsican patriots, under Paoli, though finally unsuccessful, created the strongest sympathy and admiration over the enlightened part of Europe. The minds of Englishmen were peculiarly formed to take an interest in their favour; even the government shewed some symptoms of good will to those brave men, and afforded a shelter and subsistence to the chief leader, when he was driven into exile. But the popular wish of the country to protect Corsica, in open defiance of France, was not acceded to, for reasons which have not been satisfactorily explained. Among the advocates of this generous interference, for the preservation of human freedom, and against the unjust aggrandizement of France, was Lord Chatham. Lord Shelburne also, during his continuance in office, was so deeply impressed with the importance of allowing such an acquisition to the enemy, that he instructed Lord Rochford, then resident at the court of France, to remonstrate on the subject. The remonstrance failed, if we may trust the testimony of a writer well acquainted with the events of those times,[2] because the French minister, knowing the sentiments of the British court better than the British minister, treated the remonstrance with contempt, and Lord Rochford, it is added, finding his instructions disavowed by his own court, resigned his diplomatic character. Lord Shelburne, it is added, now discovering the dupe he had been made, and the deceptions which had been practised upon him, resigned also.

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Lord Chatham had for some time entertained thoughts of resigning, disgusted as he was with colleagues whose conduct he so much disapproved. The event we have now mentioned decided him: he regarded the appointment of Lord Hillsborough as secretary of state for the

[2] The author of the Life of Lord Chatham.

CHAP. V.I. 1763. colonies, and the abandonment of Corsica to France, as such outrages on his European and American system of politics, that he sent his seal to court, and never more filled a place under the crown. The duke of Grafton thought he had balanced the loss of this great statesman by acquiring the duke of Bedford with his friends to support his administration; and although he had but lately declared that he would serve in no public capacity without Lord Chatham, and with Lord Chatham he would willingly carry a spade or a mattock,(*i. e.* act in the humblest employment under his auspices) yet now he ventured on the difficulties and burthens of his great situation with other friends. Lord Camden still continued in office, and apparently attached to the duke.

Lord Chatham was succeeded by the earl of Bristol. These changes took place in October.

November. The following month the king opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, fraught with subjects of considerable importance, and which gave occasion to several animated debates, in framing the address. His majesty expressed the strongest desire of prolonging the blessings of peace in Europe, and regretted that the same disposition had not been so cordially shewn by other powers. From them, however, he declared that the strongest assurances had been received of a pacific disposition towards this country. On the subject of America the stile of the royal speech was indignant and severe. The capital of one of the colonies was declared to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government. In disapproving of external and groundless discontents, his majesty adverted to the duty of abstaining from a similar spirit at home. Though the addresses were carried in the usual forms, yet

great altercations arose on the different parts of them. CHAP. VII.

The effects of a late severe scarcity, and the measures to be pursued to prevent a return of the calamity, was the first public object which came within the consideration of the house, after returning an answer to his majesty's address. A bill was ordered to be brought in, not only for extending the prohibition on the exportation of corn, but also for preventing the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat and wheat-flour. On the seventeenth of the same month a motion was made, that copies of all the correspondence between the secretaries of state, and our ministers at the court of France, relative to the affairs of Corsica, from the 1st of January 1767, should be laid before the house, and also copies of all instructions to any of the said ministers. This motion, though carried in the negative, produced an ample discussion of the state of that island. Other motions for papers respecting America, and the merits of the disputed election, engaged the attention of parliament during the remainder of the sitting. It was adjourned from the 22d of December to the 19th of January following. 1768-9. Nov. 11.

A committee of the whole house had been formed early in the session, for the purpose of an inquiry into American affairs. Before the christmas recess, we have seen that motions were made for bringing all persons capable of elucidating the merits of the quarrel before this committee. These, however, were overruled. As coercive measures seemed to have been used by administration, all inquiries were violently opposed by them, probably thinking that the dignity of government might suffer from such discussions. Of some papers, however, of sufficient importance they could not resist the production, and upon the merits of these oppo-

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sition determined to take their ground.[3] A petition was presented during this inquiry, from the council of the province of Massachusets-bay, sign-

[3] From the first moment that intelligence arrived in the colonies, that it was meant to commute the stamp act, so lately repealed, for another tax upon customs, differing in name, but not in spirit,—the most seditious sentiments began to pervade the minds of men, and the most inflammatory language to be delivered, both from the American press and in general conversation. Of all the colonies the province of Massachusets-bay took the lead, in fostering discontent into open rebellion. There had been no good understanding between Sir Francis Barnard, the governor of Massachusets-bay and the inhabitants, from the time of the stamp act. Sir Francis being unpopular, from his zeal in maintaining the authority of the mother country; and the leading men of the province being obnoxious to him from opposite principles, a violent hostility was displayed in all their proceedings. The governor excluded from the council every principal member of the opposition party, while the popular leaders, commanding by far the greater part of the assembly, exerted their influence to thwart his influence, and to charge him with errors in government. The residence of the new board of customs was to be held at Boston. There the first symptoms of determined resistance to the tax, lately imposed, were shewn. Associations were entered into, binding the members to abstain from articles of British manufacture, and to encourage the native product of America. By the assembly of Massachusets-bay, a circular letter, dated the 15th of February 1768, was addressed to the assemblies of all the other colonies, communicating deliberations on the late acts of parliament, and giving a full account of the petition which had been lately sent to the king, as well as the instructions remitted to their own agent in Great Britain. Lord Hillsborough, the newly appointed secretary of state, for American affairs, upon the appearance of a letter so calculated to excite the factious spirit of the popular party, took occasion to reprobate the conduct of the Massachusets-bay assembly, and admonished the colonial assemblies to treat the letter with contempt. But his lordship's remonstrance was not suited to the temper of the times, for petitions of the same nature with that of Massachusets were voted, and sent to England from all the colonies. A letter from the secretary of state was treated with no more respect than his official remonstrance. He instructed the governor to require that the assembly should rescind the resolution of the preceding session, which had given birth to the circular letter. This the assembly refused (by a very large majority) to comply with, on which they were dissolved by the governor, in pursuance of his instructions, as a mark of the royal displeasure. Previous to this event an affair took place at Boston, which promoted the rising discontents of the people into active hostility. The sloop Liberty, belonging to a respectable merchant of that city, having arrived in the harbour, a tide-waiter was put on board, to prevent her lading being landed, without a permit from the custom. The master of the vessel having tampered in vain with this officer to obtain that indulgence, locked him up in the cabin, and proceeded to unlade and take in another cargo. Upon the news of this outrage the collector of the

ed by Mr. Danforth, their president. It was refused as a council-petition; the assembly, in which it passed, owing to its dismission by the king's re- CHAP. VII. 1768.

customs seized the sloop, and put her under the protection of the Romney man of war. As this transaction passed within sight of shore, the mob in town grew tumultuous, and beat and abused every person in office belonging to the custom-house. It was found necessary, for the protection of the commissioners of the customs, that the governor should apply to the assembly for their protection; but the assembly offered neither advice nor assistance. In the meantime a meeting was held of the inhabitants, who remonstrated against the seizure of the sloop, and requested the governor to remove the Romney out of their harbour. Such transactions could not pass without being reported circumstantially to the government of the mother country. Troops were accordingly ordered from home to keep the peace at Boston. A rumour of the destination of two regiments, who embarked for this purpose, reached the scene of discontent before the forces arrived, and occasioned such an alarm among the colonists as could only be excited by the anticipation of severe and desperate hostilities. A town meeting was called on the 12th of September, and a petition was presented by the inhabitants to the governor, entreating him to convene the general assembly. His excellency answered, that he could not summon the assembly without orders from the king. The ferment still encreased. Next day it was resolved in the town-meeting, that sending an armed force among them was contrary to their rights as British subjects, and that, according to a statute of William and Mary, as the governor had declared himself unable to call a general assembly, for redress of grievances, they should summon a convention of the people. They appointed four select men to represent them in this convention. These were directed to write to the select-men of the other towns in the province, acquainting them with what had been done at the town meeting of Boston, and to propose a convention, to be held on the 22d of the same month. It was also resolved, that the inhabitants of Boston should be requested to provide themselves with arms, pursuant to a law of the province, which had been too much neglected, assigning as a reason for this step, the prevailing apprehension of a war with France; and, lastly, they requested that the clergy of the town should set a-part a day for fasting and prayer. All the townships in the province complied with these instructions, that of Halifield alone excepted, which exhibited a singular attachment to the authority of the British government. In a strain of commendable moderation, they advised their countrymen to pursue more legal modes of redressing their grievances, than holding a seditious and unconstitutional assembly. The convention met on the 28th of September, composed of delegates from ninety-eight towns and eight districts. Their first act was to send a deputation to the governor, with a message, in which they disclaimed all pretence to authoratative or governmental acts, alleging they were met for the preservation of his majesty's peace, and concluded with intreating his excellency to call an assembly. The governor refused to receive their message, and admonished them to disperse. The proceedings of the members of this convention were more mild and moderate than might have been expected, from

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presentative, not being held legal; but as the petition of Samuel Danforth, in behalf of the several individual members composing the council, it was received. This petition, in a moderate and argumentative manner, complained of the late revenue acts, as contrary to the charters, privileges, and immunities of the colonists. The great and willing services performed by the colonies at their own expence in our wars, and the share of advantage they communicated to the common good of the empire, were enumerated, while their inability to bear the burthens proposed to be laid upon them were stated as reasons for repealing those recent acts, and for securing America against their future revival. The lords had already voted the conduct of the Americans (in historical detail) to be highly disloyal and illegal, and after condemning the proceedings of the Massachusets-bay assembly, the calling of the select-men of Boston, and the transactions of the populace, had prayed that the king would be pleased to take measures for ascertaining the name, and securing the persons, of those seditious persons, who were chiefly instrumental in promoting those measures; and that a special commission should be issued, according to a sta-

the motives and circumstances that brought them together. After petioning the king against the late acts of parliament, and recommending to the people a strict observance of peace and subordination, they dissolved their meeting on the 29th of September, the same day that a division of the troops arrived at Boston. The turbulence of the inhabitants being restrained, as well by the presence of the troops, as by the advice of their representatives, peace was restored to Boston. In the province of New York, the assembly having made submission, and complied with the terms of the mutiny act, were restored to the exercise of their legislative functions.

As the causes of complaint, however, still continued, the spirit of discontent was rather suppressed, than extinguished. Associations were resorted to, for impairing the trade of the mother country, and for restraining all importations from Britain, but such as it would have distressed themselves to have excluded. The exportation of the prohibited articles was to cease from the first of January 1769, and the effect which these combinations produced on this country will be seen hereafter. Such were the principal transactions in America during the year 1768.

tute of Henry VIII, for trying such offenders. Against these severe measures, the united influence of the Grenville and Rockingham oppositions was exerted. However different the sentiments of those two statesmen had hitherto been upon American politics, they were now reconciled upon one point, the impropriety of urging matters at present to hostile extremities. They contended, that, admitting the repeal of the stamp act to have been an improper measure, yet from the moment of that repeal the policy of the mother country was altered, though her rights were not abridged. That part of the address of the lords (now remitted to the commons for their discussion), which proposed the bringing delinquents from the province of Massachusets-bay, to be tried at a tribunal of this country, for crimes supposed to be committed there, underwent still severer animadversions. Such a proceeding, it was justly asserted, was at war with the true spirit of the constitution. If the American had committed a crime, let him be tried, as an Englishman would be tried, at home, by a jury of his countrymen, upon the spot where evidence is best found, and where, if innocent, he can best repel the accusation. But to drag the colonist from the other side of the globe, from his family and his friends, to the ruin of his health or fortune, and the risk of his life and character, was to take from him every remnant of personal security, and to lay him at the mercy of the governor of that province in which he lived, whenever pique or jealousy might be disposed to arraign him. The present occasion, it was urged, was little adapted for the introduction of so strange a statute as that of Henry VIII, which was past before England had a single colony; and was an act of the most tyrannical reign in the annals of our history, so ill recognized by the mild spirit of our later government, that it had deservedly grown

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obsolete and forgotten. Governor Pownall, who had once held the chief command in Massachusets-bay, who had great knowledge of America, and was a warm friend to its interests, took a principal share in parliament in pleading the colonial cause. Distinguishing between the act of issuing writs, and that of writing mere letters of invitation, (the first of which was illegal, and the letter purely constitutional) he contended that the calling of colonial convocations was warranted by law. After

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the resolutions and address had been carried by a ministerial majority, the governor again stood forward, in a subsequent debate, to criminate the conduct of ministers, and to warn the country against an obstinate adherence to the system of dragooning the colonies. The native energy of Englishmen (said this speaker) is still alive in the descendants of those men, the founders of your colonies, who went out in all the boldness of enterprise to people America. They have made themselves a new home, in a new world, and in defending that country they have no sacrifice to make, but a few luxuries obtained by your commerce, which they can either procure in time, by their own ingenuity, or abandon for ever in the cause of independence. It is only because they have loved and respected you, that they need those very superfluities; if you use the colonists unworthily, they will imitate no more your fashions and manners. The indigenous resources of America are sufficient to support her in peace as well as war. 'Do nothing which may bring into discussion questions of right; maintain that authority, and only that authority which usage and agreement have hitherto made venerable; exercise the power of levying subsidies, imposts, and duties:' but all efforts beyond this power, are to be made at the hazard of eternally losing the affections, and with those affections the

very possession of America. It cannot be denied, as a specious apologist of British impolicy towards America has stated in his history of the revolution,[4] 'That such speeches were destructive to the authority which parliament wished to maintain; and they often gave the tone to the subsequent measures pursued by the American patriots, who exerted themselves to verify the predictions which their friends in parliament made.' This circumstance, however, reflects no disgrace on the members who made such speeches. In the great cause of justice, between a mother country and her colonies, it would have ill become the statesman, whose conscience disapproved of our conduct, to have been either actively or negatively guilty of coinciding with oppression. It became him rather, in open and honourable vindication of his country's character, to prove, that in a British senate there were at least some men, who had the virtue to espouse the cause of the injured; and when these transactions shall be recorded in a future age, after every actor and spectator shall have been long swept from existence, it will do more honour to the name of Britons, that one voice should have exclaimed against the partial interests of his country, in behalf of justice, than that *all* should have joined in union for the sake of any improper acquisition. With regard to the revival of the obsolete statute of Henry VIII, its immediate effect was to alienate the affections of the loyal and best disposed among the colonists; and although ministers, it is probable, never intended to put it in force, yet this is rather an aggravation than a justification of the measure. In the province of Massachusets-bay, to which this irritating menace was held out, the provincial assembly hailed it not

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[4] Stedman.

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with fear, but with indignation; they at once declared it tyrannical: they voted charges against their governor for misconduct, and transmitted applications to England for his removal. In the other colonial assemblies the same resolutions were agreed to, on receiving the parliamentary reports. So many were passed of this acrimonious nature, that dissolutions of the assemblies became frequent, increasing thereby the irritation of the general mind over the continent, as the representatives returned to their constituents full of those sentiments which dictated the offensive resolutions, and with aggravated soreness at the indignity of being dismissed. In all their towns, committees were assembled for political communication, and for a purpose most fatally injurious to the commerce of England, for examining the cargoes of ships, arriving from Britain, to ascertain whether the associations for abstaining from articles of British manufacture were faithful to their agreement. All those who were found delinquents were exposed to various persecutions, and in many cases the goods were reshipped, for fear of tempting the people to purchase. The manufacturers of this country were not long in exhibiting perceptible effects of this resistance. The merchants trading with America were alarmed, and presented a petition to parliament, praying for a repeal of the offensive act, urging the decline of their trade, and their fears of entire ruin, if the scheme of taxation was not quickly abandoned.

Early in the year the affair of Wilkes' came again before the commons. On a petition being presented by Sir Joseph Mawbey, detailing past events, and the hardships illegally suffered by Wilkes, and praying for redress, the house discussed a motion to ascertain, whether a member convicted of publishing a libel is entitled to privi-

lege. After a violent debate it was carried in the negative. On the 27th of November 1768, Mr. Wilkes was brought before parliament, in custody. Appearing again on the 31st in behalf of this petition, he persuaded the house to expunge the word blasphemous from their definition of his Essay on women. In his evidence, he proved that Lord Mansfield had altered the record of his indictment the day before the trial, an act which was however, justified by precedent. The consideration of his petition ended with a declaration of the commons, that the aspersions cast upon his prosecutors and their agents, contained in the petition, were frivolous. His prosecutors now turned the tables against him. It was proved that he had published a letter, which had accidentally come into his possession, from Lord Weymouth to the magistrates of Surrey, (recommending the forcible suppression of sedition), along with an inflammatory description of the affair of St. Georges fields, which he denominated a massacre. Even at the bar of the lower-house, Wilkes exulted that he had exposed that bloody scroll. Lord Weymouth complaining of the publication, a conference ensued between the lords and commons. This was followed by a motion to expel Mr. Wilkes from his seat, which was carried by a large majority. His interests were eagerly and immediately espoused by the freeholders of Middlesex. At a meeting of these electors, on the 16th of February, Alderman Sawbridge declared, that if once ministry should have established a right of dictating to freeholders, what persons they were not to elect, it would be an easy transition to dictate *whom* they were to name. Mr. Wilkes was accordingly unanimously re-elected. The next day Lord Strange made a motion, 'that Mr. Wilkes having been expelled, he was incapable of being re-elected to serve in

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that parliament;' and in support of this doctrine the case of Sir Robert Walpole's expulsion was quoted. In the course of debating this question, which the opposition took up very warmly, Mr. Dowdeswell humorously observed, that a right of expulsion would leave ministers the absolute power of the house. 'There is one worst man in the house, turn him out. Is there not now a worst man left, turn him out too. In short, when will you stop. You have turned out one for impiety and obscenity. When half a dozen members meet over a convivial bottle, is their discourse entirely free from impiety, obscenity, or abuse of government. Even in the cabinet, that pious reforming society, were Mr. Wilkes to be there adjudged, and the innocent man to throw the first stone, they would slink out one by one, and leave the culprit uncondemned.' Mr. Wilkes's popularity was founded on persecution, and it consequently gained ground by every harsh and hostile measure of government. Had they suffered him quietly to take his seat in parliament, his opposition in that place, having no mobs nor public animosity to support it, would have sunk into insignificance; but by taking him into custody, after his election, they instituted a contest between the king and his subjects, highly unfortunate for the popularity of a sovereign. It counteracted the natural affection which Englishmen bear to their common head, by the jealousy which it was impossible they should not feel at seeing their dearest rights in danger of invasion. In spite of all Mr. Wilkes's profligacy, and admitting that his talents were over-rated by his friends and supporters, as well as by the very importance attached to them through the false zeal of government, the agitation of several questions connected with his cause was favourable to the spirit of liberty, calling forth resistance to illegal stretches

of power, which, it is to be hoped, that Englishmen will never behold without indignation. CHAP. VII.

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Attempts were made by many respectable citizens, to support administration against the prevailing spirit of discontent. A meeting of merchants was called, for the purpose of presenting a loyal address to the king; but the adherents of Wilkes repaired in such numbers to the place, that they overbore the intended resolutions, and turned the meeting into ridicule. Still a number of loyal persons persevered in preparing an address, which was left for signatures at the Royal exchange. In their progress to present it at St. James's, they were met by a mob, preceded by a hearse, covered with paintings that represented the death of the unfortunate youth who was shot near the house of his father, under supposed circumstances of cruelty. The populace was with great difficulty, but happily without bloodshed, dispersed, and some of the ringleaders secured. March 8.

A second election took place for the vacant seat of Middlesex, on the 16th of March. Mr. Dingley, the chief promoter of the loyal meeting we have just adverted to, opposed the popular candidate; but so ill was he treated by the mob, that he retired before the election. Mr. Wilkes was again returned. This election was declared void like the former. It was now imagined that all the session would be consumed in this ineffectual contest, between the Middlesex electors and the house of commons; but a more decided conduct was adopted by the government party. A gentleman in the army, Colonel Luttrell, son of Lord Irnham, was hardy enough to vacate his seat, and to declare himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex, a step at that time accounted so hazardous, that policies upon his life were said to have been opened at some of the insurance offices in the

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city. At the close of the poll a majority was against him of nearly four to one. Two days, however, after the election, the house of commons resolved that Mr. Luttrell ought to have been returned for Middlesex; and the deputy-clerk was ordered to enrol his name instead of Mr. Wilkes. A petition from the freeholders, within 14 days, brought the matter to the issue of a parliamentary debate.

May 8. It was urged, by those who opposed the late resolution of the house, that no principle was more sacred in the constitution, than that all the representatives of the country should be the real choice of the people. The legislature, as composed of king, lords, and commons, had the right of legislation, and not the house of commons singly. All the circumstances by which men are incapacitated from serving in parliament were already defined by law; and according to the gravest explainers of the law, among those disqualifications there was nothing which applied sufficiently to Mr. Wilkes. It was shewn, that he was not, by any construction whatever, under legal disability; and by a very just distinction of terms it was urged, that the term expulsion, as being the lesser term, and included in that of disability, could not be taken as the greater, so as to comprehend the other. In examining the generality of precedents upon which expulsion was identified with disability, they were found to have existed during 18 years of irregular and arbitrary proceedings, from the year 1642 to 1660, when 49 members had been incapacitated; but to manifest the illegal complexion of the measure, it was proved that new writs had never been issued for electing others in their places. On the other side it was contended, that unless the house of commons had the power of superadding disability to expulsion, its privileges would only be inefficient

and ridiculous, since an expelled member, however obnoxious, might be returned by the obstinacy of his constituents;—the house, it was asserted, is the sole court of judicature in cases of election; and in these must be accounted the *dernier* resort. The people were enjoined to recollect, that as the commons were their own representatives, every infringement on their dignity was also an infringement on their own; and that if, in the present instance, an obstinate adherence to error prevented the electors of Middlesex from exercising the rights of freemen, it was themselves that they had to blame, and not the hand of the legislature. A long train of precedents followed these arguments, under the two heads of exclusion and expulsion. The latter cases, apparently the most applicable to the present times, in particular that of Sir Robert Walpole, were proved, however, to be radically different from Mr. Wilkes's, and to overthrow the principle which they were brought to establish. The debate was concluded by a vote of the house, confirming the disability of Mr. Wilkes. A prorogation of parliament succeeded the day after the final decision against the Middlesex petition. In the royal speech a great deal of commendation was lavished on the conduct of both houses.

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May 9.

In relating the transactions of India, we have already mentioned the reformations either attempted or effected by Lord Clive, in the civil as well as military department. Finding his health injured, by a residence in that climate, he returned, after he had, to the utmost of his power, completed the object of his mission. Soon after his lordship's departure, hostilities again broke out between the company and the natives; and a new enemy started up in that country, of intrepidity and talents almost unrivalled in the history of Hindostan.

CHAP. VII. 1767. This was Hyder Ali, or Hyder Naig, whose activity and intrigues had emboldened him, from the rank of a subordinate commander, to usurp the government of the Mysore. When arrived at this eminent station, perceiving that the power of the British opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the extension of his empire, he laboured successfully to persuade the Nizam of the Decan to coincide with his views, and declare against their interest. The council of Madras immediately dispatched a force, under Colonel Smith, to meet these opponents. The battle of Errour, near Trinomaly, was lost by the Indian powers, in spite of all the skill and gallantry of Hyder Ali. The Nizam immediately concluded a peace, and ceded to the company a large territory, including the dominion of Hyder. That able prince was not, however, to be subdued so easily. He retreated before the British in his own province; and when they had inconsiderately proceeded too far, he got between Colonel Smith's army and the Carnatic, and ravaged with impunity the territories of their favourite ally the nabob of Arcot. On the 4th of October 1768, an obstinate engagement was fought between the Indian troops and a small army under Colonel Wood, in which the former were defeated; but Hyder, still undaunted after his defeat, left the Carnatic, and proceeded to Madras, where, in spite of his adverse circumstances, he reduced the English to propose a negociation for peace. The conditions were equitable. All forts and places captured were restored; and no compensation required on either side for the expence of hostilities. A treaty of peace, an alliance, and stipulations for a free trade, were mutually accepted. The war, though attended with many victories to the company's troops, was yet adverse to its interests. Great pecuniary distress was experienced almost

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immediately after its commencement. The presidency of Madras being obliged to draw upon the council of Calcutta for supplies, an immense loss was occasioned from the enhanced rate of exchange: coin became so scarce, that the trade to China, which required payments of specie on our side, was impaired; and from the depression of trade, as well as from the fears of a devastating enemy, the labours of the manufacturer were suspended. In England alarm was conceived, with exaggerated apprehensions, owing to the distance of the scene, and the indistinctness of the danger. India stock fell above 60 per cent. It was in vain that the directors shewed their dispatches from India, and proved, that the affairs of the company, though injured, had suffered no irretrievable loss. In the meantime, to remedy some abuses and mismanagements, which all the vigilance of Lord Clive had not reformed, it was thought necessary that three gentlemen, of ability and experience in the company's affairs, should be invested with extraordinary powers, and sent out under the character of supervisors, with authority to rectify all that was imperfect, and to controul the other servants of the company. Colonel Ford, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Scrafton, were the three persons entrusted with this important office. Though the bad conduct of the company's servants was generally acknowledged, yet the degree of power with which it was proper to invest these supervisors was made the subject of great debate in the court of directors. When their powers were at last adjusted, an unexpected difficulty arose on the side of ministry, which again retarded the mission of this triumvirate. The directors having applied to government for the useful addition of a few ships of the line, to strengthen their influence with the native potentates, an answer was received

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from one of the secretaries of state, (Lord Weymouth), importing that it would be necessary for the court of directors to take into consideration a proposal of government, for giving unlimited powers, in adjusting all maritime affairs in India, to that officer who should command the squadron sent out at their request; and this proposition the directors were instructed to lay before the proprietors at large. It was not without jealousy and discontent that the company received this intimation. If authority, they said, were once given to the king's officers to interfere authoritatively in the affairs of India, whenever any contest should arise between the king's servants and the company's, the event would be fatal to the latter. It was shewn, that commerce was a thing of so delicate a nature, that the restraints and exertions of power, though seemingly intended for its defence, had generally proved its destruction; that in France the East-India company had been laid at the feet of monarchy, and therefore languished in decay; whilst in Holland the states had wisely left it to itself, and there it flourished in prosperity. The yearly profits of the company, they asserted, were fairly divided; and government were paid besides so large a bounty for the charter, that no pretext could be urged for an arbitrary demand like the present. In answer to all this they were told, that the king's commission, added to the company's negociations, would impress more respect upon strangers than a mere corporation of merchants; that if government should not interpose to defend the territorial acquisitions in India, the company, for the sake of enjoying a few years of wealth and trade monopolized in their own hands, would suffer those dominions to be lost by their indifference to future events: for it was folly to suppose, that without the strong arm of Bri-

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tain to defend them, so many millions of natives in India would submit to the power of a few traders, when by a single combination they could sweep them out of the country. During the agitation occasioned by this demand of government, on the one hand, and the obstinacy of the company on the other, a commission was made out for the naval commander; but as the proposed requisition for his extraordinary powers had not been complied with, his operations were limited to the gulf of Persia, by a sort of compromise between the parties. The company's affairs had been for some time embroiled upon that coast, through the lawless conduct of the neighbouring chiefs, and the troubles that prevailed in Persia. The power of making peace and war was granted by the directors to the naval commander in the gulf of Persia, beyond which his authority did not extend; and the demand for ships of the line to the bay of Bengal was suspended. Two frigates were, however, ordered upon that service, as well as to convey the supervisors, whose powers were at length finally adjusted, and the whole altercation concluded..

The general consequence upon the public mind, by the late decision of the house of commons, was to produce ferment and discontent. Almost all the electors of England considered the cause of the electors of Middlesex as their own. The remotest counties caught the alarm; and the body of freeholders throughout the nation imagined the constitution to be wounded in its most vital part. Affecting popularity, in spite of all their unpopular measures, the ministers attempted to rally all the remaining loyalty of the country to play it off against these discontents; and endeavoured to procure addresses from all quarters, expressing approbation of their proceedings. They

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were desirous to propagate the belief that the censure so freely and generally conveyed against their conduct, proceeded from a small and interested faction. Upon this principle measures were taken, at the spring assizes, that the judges, lieutenants, and sheriffs, of all the counties, who had naturally much influence at public meetings, should procure addresses, expressing sentiments of attachment and respect for the present ministers, and reprobating the turbulence of the opposite party. Essex, Kent, Surrey, and Salop, were the only counties from which such addresses could be procured. The management used to obtain some, even of this small number, in a great degree frustrated the end that was proposed. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with some difficulty, and after considerable influence had been used, were drawn into the measure. In London, another address was added to the number, purporting to come from the merchants and principal inhabitants; but it was evident, that in that quarter the court party was extremely feeble. The spirit of addressing could be pushed no farther in England. It was observed, that in Scotland much greater readiness was evinced to approve of the character and conduct of the minister. Addresses, which filled the gazette for several weeks, came from every town, and almost every village, in that part of the kingdom. In these Scottish addresses, it seemed to be almost a necessary consequence of their indirect reflections on the loyalty of those who differed from them in political opinion, that the latter should shew, in some manner equally strong and public, the justice of their complaints, and the arguments for their opposition. Petitions were therefore set on foot, in many places, for the redress of grievances, for the removal of bad ministers, and for the banishment from the royal presence of evil

counsellors, whose aim had been to depri people of their lawful rights. The county of dlesex, as the one most particularly aggri took the lead on this occasion: London follo its example; and the same spirit of remonstran prevailed in about 17 counties, and a great man cities or boroughs. The minds of all men were oc- cupied on one side or other of this great question; and high expectations were formed concerning the manner in which these points would be adverted to in the speech from the throne. But the speech began by noticing a distemper which had broken out among the horned cattle,—touched on some topics relative to foreign affairs, and the distractions of America; and concluded with the usual recommendations to unanimity. No notice was 1770. taken of the great domestic movements which had brought on or followed the petitions. The public were astonished at this silence; and no less so at the solemn mention of the horned cattle, which filled the place of a more important topic. It became even a subject of general ridicule, especially as the existence of the distemper, or at least the extent or danger did not dispose the people to more serious thoughts. In parliament, however, the same silence was not observed on the head of the petitions as in the royal speech. A motion was made by the opposition, to inquire into the causes of existing discontents, which kindled a debate of uncommon asperity. A very small portion of the house, indeed, who were the supporters, but the candid supporters, of administration, had the moderation to admit the existence of the discontents, however exaggerated, and proposed, in an amendment to the royal address, to declare, in the name of parliament, a willingness to reconsider the Middlesex election; but by far the greater part of the court phalanx vociferously

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denied the existence of any dissatisfaction, but such as members of opposition had for their own interests excited.

In the house of lords an amendment, which it was proposed to make to the royal speech at the opening of parliament, drew forth uncommon eloquence from three of the most distinguished speakers of the upper house, Lords Chatham, Mansfield, and Camden. The first of these noble peers having now so far recovered from his late indisposition, as to take his usual lead in debate, declared, that except the attention paid to prevent destruction among the horned cattle, there was nothing in the conduct of ministers that did not meet his entire disapprobation. After lamenting the unhappy measures which had divided the colonies from Great Britain, he adverted to that part of his majesty's speech which pointed out the necessity of cordial union among the people. 'Never (he averred) was union and harmony more essential than at present, to the well-being and to the very existence of the state: but to produce that unanimity it was incumbent on the legislature to trace out, and, if possible, to remove the causes which had so fatally engendered dissatisfaction, and to give his majesty their best advice on so important a subject. The cause (he affirmed) was, that the liberty of the subject had been invaded, not only abroad but at home; and be assured, (continued he), that in whatever part of the empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America, in Ireland, or at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. He had no doubt the universal discontent of the nation arose from the proceedings against Wilkes; and therefore moved an amendment to the address, 'that the house

would, with all convenient speed, take into consideration the causes of the prevailing discontent, and particularly the proceedings of the house of commons, touching the incapacity of John Wilkes; thereby refusing, (by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only), to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative.' The amendment was opposed by Lord Mansfield, who said, 'it threatened the most pernicious consequences to the nation, as it manifestly violated every form and law of parliament, and was a gross attack on the privileges of the house of commons. There never was an instance of the lords inquiring into the proceedings of the house of commons, with respect to their own members, much less of their assuming a right to censure or advice the crown to notice such proceedings. The amendment, (continued his lordship), will inevitably occasion a quarrel between the two houses, or between the king and the commons; and even supposing that the lords could appease the discontent by their present interference, the next house of commons, if they knew any thing of their own privileges, would, on the first day of the session, declare the proceedings a violation of the rights of the commons.' Lord Chatham, in reply, accused the noble lord of arbitrary, unconstitutional, principles, and declared himself an enemy to such doctrines, whether they tended to consign arbitrary power to the hands of one tyrant, under the name of a king, or to a thousand kings, under the name of parliament. He made a marked distinction between the legislative and jurisprudential functions of the house of commons. He referred to magna charta, to the statute-book, and to the bill of rights, for the law which was to guide parliament; and not, (as the noble lord had affirmed), to the mere *arbitrium*

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of parliament, from which, it was pretended, the subject could have no appeal. It was the first principle of the constitution, that the subject should not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men, unless of the whole legislature collectively, whose decision alone was law,—not the single anunciation of one branch of the legislature. The late decision of the house of commons had not the magna charta,—it had not the bill of rights for its support; and whether it was to be questioned by the legislature, depended now upon their lordships. The question, he admitted, might possibly occasion a difference between the two houses, or between the king and the commons; but whether was it better for the king to listen to the united voice of his people, or to uphold the commons in an exercise of that same usurped authority, by which they once, in former times, abolished both the king and the upper house. Usurpation and tyranny it certainly was to be called, for it trampled upon the constitution and upon the law; and where law ends, (said his lordship), tyranny begins. Lord Camden, in supporting Lord Chatham, expressed himself with great warmth of indignation. He declared, (although at the period of this debate in possession of the great seal), 'that having come into office he meant not to be trammelled by his majesty,'—he corrected himself suddenly, and said, 'by his ministers:—he had for some time beheld,' he said, 'with indignation, the arbitrary measures of the minister; he would do so no more, but openly and boldly avow his sentiments. Administration, by their violent and tyrannical conduct, had driven away the respect of the people from his majesty's government, almost from his majesty himself; and discontent was now so prevalent, that he did not know but the nation might

avenge their grievances with their own hands.' The amendment was negatived. CHAP. VII. 1770.

In the house of commons an amendment was moved to the address, by Mr. Dowdeswell, 'that the house would take into consideration the cause of the unhappy discontents which prevailed in every part of his majesty's dominions.' In favour of this motion, the most distinguished speakers, besides the mover, were, Colonel Barré and the marquis of Granby. Lord North and Sir Fletcher Norton opposed it; and here also it was rejected by a considerable majority. On reporting the address another debate arose, in which Sir George Saville stood forward, with great earnestness, to accuse the house of commons of having betrayed the rights of the people. In preferring this accusation, he made use of such strong language as to be called to order. From this debate, when all the champions of the popular cause came forward to impeach administration, opposition, it now appeared, was fast gathering strength. The recovery of Lord Chatham's health,—his reconciliation with Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville, with all their friends, and shortly afterwards their reconcilement with the Rockingham party, brought together a formidable phalanx. Lord Camden's late declaration in the upper house having entirely joined him to this side, (for the great seal was immediately taken from him), brought all his eloquence to the aid of opposition in the house of peers. The duke of Beaufort gave up his place of master of horse to the queen: the duke of Manchester and earl of Coventry were discontinued as lords of the bed-chamber. The earl of Huntingdon resigned his place of groom of the stole; and Mr. James Grenville his office of one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland. Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, also retired from office. The whole administration

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seemed to be falling to pieces; but the court was determined to have ministers of its own views and connections, in spite of so many desertions. Mr. Charles Yorke was, with difficulty, prevailed upon

Jan. 22. to accept of the great seal; but three days after he put an end to his own existence.

On the 22d of January, the marquis of Rockingham moved, 'that a day be appointed to take into consideration the state of the nation.' It was urged by his lordship, that the present unhappy condition of affairs, and the universal discontent of the people, arose from no temporary cause, but had grown by degrees from the first moment of his majesty's accession to the throne: that the persons in whom his majesty then confided, had introduced a system subversive of the old principles of English government,—their maxim being, 'that the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government, to whatever hands the administration should be committed.' The operation of this principle was observable in every act over which the influence of those persons had been exerted. They had made a disadvantageous peace; a tyrannical exercise of power had ensued, by which an approbation of that peace had been obtained. Not the great and dignified only had been removed from places and employments, but a spirit of mean persecution had been carried down to the lowest offices of the state. By this system; by the taxes they had imposed at home; by the indecent manner with which the civil-list debt had been laid before parliament, without an account offered, or an inquiry permitted; by the mode of taxing and of treating America; by the recent invasion of the freedom of election; in short, by every procedure at home and abroad, the constitution had been wounded, and the worst effects had resulted to the nation. He recommended it strongly

to their lordships to fix an early day for taking into their consideration the state of this country, in all its relations, foreign, provincial, and domestic; for it had been injured in them all. That consideration, his lordship hoped, would lead them to advise the crown to correct past errors, and to establish a system of government more wise, more suited to the people, and more consistent with the constitution. The duke of Grafton rose immediately after Lord Rockingham, 'not,' (as his grace expressed himself), 'to meet him upon the great question, but only to exculpate himself from several censures, which he supposed to be levelled at himself.' A number of the leading objections to ministerial conduct he enumerated with great ability, and defended his conduct in such a manner as to draw approbation from Lord Chatham himself, for the decency of his defence, when that noble peer rose to second the motion of the marquis. His lordship went over all the ground which had been taken up by the mover, in accusing ministry; he drew the same picture of national degradation, and assigned to it the same date, viz. his majesty's ascension. He proclaimed his new-made coalition with the Rockingham party, and declared, that since it was not to possess or divide the emoluments of government, but to save the constitution, that their union was established, it should be firm and inaccessible to all the artifice and seduction of ministry. In consequence of this motion, the house agreed to fix the 24th of January for taking into consideration the state of the nation. But at that time there being no lord chancellor, the motion was adjourned to the 2d of February. On the 29th of January, four days previous to the debate, the duke of Grafton resigned: the vacancy on the woolsack determined his grace to quit his situation. Even this resigna-

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tion, added to the many others which had preceded it, had no effect upon the court. The resolution of the cabinet was still to persevere. The duke of Grafton's place was given to Lord North. He was now first lord of the treasury, chancellor of the exchequer, and minister of the house of commons. Sir John Cust having resigned the chair of the house of commons, from his ill state of health, Sir Fletcher Norton was called to that dignity. Lord Hallifax was appointed lord-privy-seal, in lieu of the earl of Bristol, who became groom of the stole. Welbore Ellis was made one of the vice treasurers of Ireland, instead of James Grenville. Charles Fox was appointed a lord of the admiralty; and after some time Thurlow was made solicitor-general instead of Dunning, who, notwithstanding his resignation, held the office till a successor should be nominated.

In the lower house the same efforts were made as among the peers, by the speakers of opposition, to induce an inquiry into the state of public affairs; to throw an odium on the general conduct of the cabinet; and to establish a decision favourable to the right of Wilkes to sit in parliament as member for Middlesex. A committee being formed to give a verdict on the state of the nation, Mr.

Jan. 25.

Dowdeswell moved, 'that in judging of elections the house ought to be regulated by the law of the land, and the known and established custom of parliament which made a part thereof.' It would have been unpleasant for ministry to have admitted this motion, as it evidently was a prelude to others which were intended, respecting the Middlesex election; yet to have over-ruled it would have been assuming to parliament an independence little short of uncontrouled and arbitrary power. The dilemma was dexterously parried by Lord North, who moved, as an amendment, 'that the

judgment of the house, on the Middlesex election, is conformable to the law and the usage of parliament.' This amendment being carried, the object of the mover was frustrated. In a subsequent debate, on the last day of the same month, the same gentleman moved, 'that by the law of the land, and the law and usage of parliament, no person eligible of common right can be incapacitated by a resolution of the house, but by an act of parliament only.' In the course of the debate, Colonel Barré compared the state to a vessel in a storm, which had lost her main-mast, (the duke of Grafton), and now scudded under a jury-mast, (Lord North); they hung out signals of distress for pilots from the other side of the house; but none would assist them, till the old men and crew had quitted the ship. In reply, Lord North denied, that however strong the storm might be, the ship was not yet in such distress as to hang out pilot-signals, for those on-board were quite capable of guiding her into port.

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On the 2d of February the house of lords formed themselves into a committee on the state of the nation, when Lord Rockingham moved, as Mr. Dowdeswell had done in the lower house, that the house of commons, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is a part thereof. The earl of Sandwich opposed the motion, and speedily came to the point which was known to be the true object of the motion, viz. the Middlesex election. He quoted cases in defence of this expulsion; those of Lionel, earl of Middlesex, and Lord Bacon, who were both, for high crimes and misdemeanours, expelled the house of peers, and incapacitated for ever from sitting in that place, without occasioning any interference

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from the other branches of the legislature. Lord Sandwich, on this occasion, in the most unqualified manner, denied the existence of that discontent and alarm which it was the favourite amusement of opposition to allege. There was no disaffection, he affirmed, except among the daring and ambitious, the needy, the desperate, and the ignorant. Thirteen counties had petitioned on the popular subject of the Middlesex election; but as in England there were forty-two counties, it required no deep calculation to discover that a majority of the people of England had not afforded that pledge of discontent. Even among those very petitioning counties, many long lists were filled up, he asserted, by those who were not freeholders, persons who were swayed by want, or by the imbecillity of their minds, which had yielded to threats or to persuasion. He deprecated all idea of alarm, and called upon their lordships to give way to no such unmanly apprehensions as would interpret the state of the country to be either one of danger or of disloyalty. Lord Chatham replied to his lordship. He refused to admit that the case of either Lionel, earl of Middlesex, or that of Lord Bacon, bore any analogy to the present case. These cases affected only the ejected members themselves: the rights of no constituent body were affected by them. It was not the injury done to the person of Mr. Wilkes that was the ground of complaint: it was the rights and franchises of the people that were invaded. Lord Bacon and Lord Middlesex represented no county or city. If Mr. Wilkes had not been re-elected by the people, the first expulsion (his lordship believed) would have been warranted. Therefore, my lords, (continued the noble speaker) this comparison ceases; for, except the peers he has mentioned had received a fresh title, either by birth or

patent, they could not possibly have any claim after the first expulsion. The noble earl has been very exact in his calculation of the proportion of persons who have petitioned, but will he consider what numbers there are, who, in their private sentiments, feel all the rigour of parliamentary proceedings, but whose voice, for want of a few principals to call them together, has never reached their sovereign's ear. If we add to this number the interest made use of on the side of government to suppress all petitions, with the authority that men in place have necessarily over their dependants, it is very surprising that of forty counties thirteen had spirit and independence sufficient to stem such a tide of venality. But supposing no undue influence to have been used, and that only one third of the people think themselves aggrieved, is not the complaint of such a portion of the community, or even of a smaller, to be tried and adjudged by the immutable laws of the land? We are, by that law, equally with the house of commons, intrusted with the people's rights, and we cannot discharge our duty without interference, whenever we find those rights, in any part of the constitution, trampled upon. He condemned the conduct of the house of commons, in the admission of Colonel Luttrel, as a violation of the rights of election. Such measures made a part of the unhappy system which had been formed in the present reign, to new model the constitution as well as the government. These measures originated (he would not say) with his majesty's knowledge, but in his majesty's councils. The commons had slavishly obeyed the commands of his majesty's servants, and had thereby exhibited and proved, to the conviction of every man, what might have been only matter of suspicion before, that ministers held a corrupt influence in parliament. It was demonstrable; it was indisputable.

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It therefore became their lordships, at this critical and alarming period, to step forwards, and oppose themselves, on the one hand, to the justly incensed, and perhaps speedily intemperate, rage of the people, and, on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of his majesty's ministers, that they might prevent licentiousness on the one side, and depredation on the other. Their lordships were the constitutional barrier between the extremes of liberty and prerogative.' The house being now in a committee, the question was put, whether the speaker should resume the chair; and it was carried in the affirmative. The motion being now disposed of, notwithstanding it was past twelve o'clock, the earl of Marchmont rose to move, 'that any resolution of this house, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the house of commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, would be a violation of the constitutional rights of the commons, tends to make a breach between the two houses of parliament, and leads to a general confusion.' The earl of Marchmont and Lord Mansfield, who had not opened their mouths till now, supported this motion with great ability. The former threw out, by way of menace to the opposition, that if they went one step farther, they would justify the necessity of calling in foreign assistance; a phrase which he never explained, although called to order for using it by the duke of Richmond. The earl of Egmont, in this renewed debate, said of the petitions, that the people had no right to offer them; they were treasonable.

Lord Chatham was raised by this harsh expression. He declared, that however indignant he might feel at such a sentence upon the petitioners, he would say they would only smile when they heard it. He thanked Lord Marchmont for his lenity

in permitting these petitioners to have their heads one day longer: the right of petition, however, was a fair and constitutional claim. After combating Lord Mansfield upon the ground of interference, he conjured their lordships, by the noble blood which had ran in their veins for so many ages, and by the noble struggles of their ancestors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a transaction so alarming. For his own part, he modestly observed of his own peerage, that he was scarcely warm in his seat. Towards the conclusion, he complained of the motion being so sudden, and made at midnight. Pressing for an adjournment of only two days, 'he intreated,—if the constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey.' At half past one in the morning the question was put, and decided in the affirmative. CHAP. VII. 1770.

Opposition was not more successful in the house of commons, where Mr. Herbert introduced a bill upon the subject of expulsion, which, after repeated discussion, he found himself at last obliged to withdraw. In the city, the proceedings of the common council displayed a perfect sympathy with the disappointed minorities in parliament. So strong was the sentiment in that body, that a motion was made for convening a common hall, in order to address a remonstrance to his majesty. In a meeting of nearly 3,000 of the livery, assembled in the common hall, the lord mayor addressed them on the same popular subjects which had constituted the chief topics of the oppositionists in both houses of parliament;—the invaded right of election,—the prevalence of corruption,—and that secret influence of court origin which had baffled every effort of a late popular minister. A Feb. 5.

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1770. remonstrance was proposed, which affirmed, that parliament, in overthrowing the elective rights of the subject, in a recent instance, had assumed a power more illegal and ruinous than the levying of ship money by Charles I, or the dispensing power exercised by James II. In a strain of exaggeration that even exceeded this assertion, they declared, that having forfeited authority, by an over-exertion of it, the house of commons had ceased to be the representatives of the people. In conclusion, they prayed for a speedy dissolution of parliament, and the removal of the king's evil ministers from his councils. An audience being granted, to receive this remonstrance, which was attended by the lord mayor and a numerous deputation from the common hall, the common serjeant was overcome by the presence of the royal personage, to whom its contents appeared so disrespectful, and could not read it out; but the common clerk, without embarrassment, relieved him from that duty. The king returned for answer, that although ever ready to hearken to all the grievances of his people, he could not hear the present petition without painful regret that his subjects should address him in terms so unconstitutional: that it was his aim and resolution, in government, to abstain from all violation of those powers of the constitution which had been reposed in other hands; and that it was only by adhering to such a principle of conduct that he could hope for a steady and affectionate loyalty from his people. The commons, who were no less offended with this remonstrance than his majesty, animadverted, with still stronger expressions of disapprobation, upon the proceedings of the city, and,

March 19. in an address to the crown, requested a copy of the paper, along with its answer. If any petition (they said) contained treason, that treason ought

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to be punished, allowing all due respect to the right of petition. After a motion, therefore, that declared it unwarrantable and subversive of allegiance to deny the legality of the present parliament, an address was carried, and agreed to by the lords, on a conference, and presented to the king, who answered it graciously.

Not discouraged by the frowns of parliament, the city of Westminster sent the crown a petition in the same style with that of London; and the county of Middlesex, instigated chiefly by the advice of the Reverend John Horne, expressed its opinion of the general measures of government, and of its election decision, in particular, with the same freedom of censure. About this time the term of Wilkes's confinement was expired, his fines discharged, and his security given, through the aid of a public subscription. He now published an invective against his political persecutors, with numerous declarations of disinterested patriotism.

March 31.

April 12.

During this session of parliament was passed the excellent bill of George Grenville, for deciding petitions on controverted elections. For sixty years back the commons had been considered as sole judges in all election cases, and had tried them first by a select committee, but in more recent cases by council admitted to the bar. As the judges were not, however, bound, either by oath or honour, to impartiality, their decisions were seldom equitable, and always tedious; to remedy which, Mr. Grenville proposed, that all contested elections should be referred to a committee of thirteen members, chosen by the sitting member and the petitioner from the result of a ballot. Each party was empowered to nominate one person, besides the thirteen, to sit in the committee, which was bound by oath to decide impartially.

March 21.

CHAP. VI.

1770. February.

The bill passed, although Lord North and some of his adherents opposed it.

In another motion, Mr. Grenville was less successful. It was for an inquiry into the state and expenditure of the civil list. The late king, it was urged in behalf of this motion, had left no debt at his death, but, on the contrary, a large saving. An additional aid had been given by parliament to his present majesty, yet the civil list increased in expence; and it was concluded that the money must be applied to purposes of corruption. Successive attempts of the same nature were made by Mr. Dowdeswell, relative to the king's debt, and the amount of money in the exchequer at the late king's decease, in the month of April; but all were defeated; and the committee, which had sat for eight months to consider the state of the nation, was, by a motion of the minister, dissolved. In the upper house, Lord Chatham spoke with his usual energy on the same subject, when the question was discussed. The civil list, he said, was appropriated, in the first place, to the support of the civil government, and, in the next, to the honour and dignity of the crown. In every other respect, the minute and particular expences of the civil list are as open to parliamentary examination and inquiry, in regard to the application and abuse, as any other grant of the people to any other purpose, and the ministers are equally, or more, culpable for incurring an unprovided expence and arrears in this service as in any other. The preamble of the civil list proves this, and none but novices will ever act without proper regard to it; and therefore I never can consent to increase, fraudulently, the civil establishment, under pretence of making up deficiencies: I will not bid so high for royal favour; and the minister who is bold enough to spend the people's money

before it is granted, (even though it were not for the purpose of corrupting their representatives and thereby leaving the people of England no alternative but either to disgrace their sovereign, by not paying his debts, or to become the prey of every unthrifty and corrupt minister) that minister deserves death. In speaking of pensions, Lord Chatham honourably vindicated his own, which stood, as he said, upon the same footing with those of General Amherst, Sir Edward Hawke, and others, who had gained them by illustrious actions in behalf of their country, not by corrupt votes for its destruction. He vindicated, in the same manner, Lord Camden's pension, who had quitted the chief-justiceship of the common pleas, which he held for life, and put himself in the power of those that were not to be trusted, and who accordingly was dismissed, for the opinion he gave in favour of the right of election. In the month of May, his lordship resumed the affair of the late city remonstrance, which had given so much offence to the house of commons, and made a motion for addressing the king, with a request to dissolve the present parliament. In mentioning, (as he did) with great respect, the livery of London, he thought he perceived a sneer upon some faces among the peers. 'Let me tell you,' said he, 'my lords, though I have the honour to sit in this house, as a peer of the realm, coinciding with these honest citizens in opinion, I am proud of the honour of associating my name with theirs; and let me tell the noblest of you all, it would be an honour to you. The livery of London, my lords, were respectable long before the reformation. The lord mayor of London was a principal among the twenty-five barons who received magna charta from King John; and they have ever since been considered to have a principal weight in all the affairs

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of government. How have these respectable men been treated. They have been sent away sore afflicted from his majesty's presence, and reprimanded for pursuing their lawful rights.'

Besides the topics of election and pensions, the attention of both houses was directed, during this season, to the affairs of Ireland, and to the still more embarrassed and alarming circumstances of America. In order to illustrate the parliamentary discussions on the latter subject, it will be proper to mention some prominent events, produced, about the same period, by the growing spirit of discontent in the colonies. As Boston seemed to be the head quarters of North-American disloyalty, an extraordinary supply of troops had been sent thither in 1768. While the military continued respectable in point of numbers the town continued quiet; but, as they were thinned by repeated draughts to other quarters, the soldiers became exposed to the insults of the populace. Daily scuffles took place between the soldiers and the lower class of inhabitants. On the evening of the 5th of March, a quarrel of this kind arose. The people assembled in crowds, summoned by the church bells, and surrounded the centinel at the custom house. On hearing of this, Captain Preston, who was that day on duty, went with a guard to protect both the soldier and the place. The mob grew riotous; and at last, after suffering much insult, and even blows, the soldiers fired, without orders, and dispersed the populace. A town meeting was instantly held, at the request of which the governor ordered the removal of the troops out of town. Captain Preston, having surrendered himself to trial, was, in spite of some malignant and perjured evidences, acquitted in the most creditable manner. This riot at Boston took place on the same day on which the British minister

made a motion, in the house of commons, for discontinuing all the duties payable in America under the act of 1767, the duty on tea only excepted. The minister condemned the general tendency of this act, which was to clog our own exports with impolitic burthens, but reserved the duty on tea as a salvo for the national honour, and a pledge of colonial dependance. Its amount being only £16,000, the colonies, he said, could resist it from no motives but a determined resolution to quarrel. The opposition, of which General Conway, Governor Pownal, Colonel Barré, and Sir William Meredith, were the chief speakers, contended, on the contrary, that it was incumbent also to take off the duty on tea, since it was not the amount, but the right, of taxation to which America objected. Alderman Trecothic, who had had a principal share in that address of the liverymen to the crown, which had adverted so severely to the measures of parliament, having succeeded in his motion for obtaining papers relative to the affairs of America, Governor Pownal moved, that the house should address his majesty, imploring the crown to take measures of precaution and observance that no provincial governor, or commander of forces, should have authorities or commissions unwarranted by law. In this last contest upon the colonial affairs, during the present session, opposition was again overcome. On the 19th of May, after a motion of adjournment, which was voted the day before, the king prorogued the parliament.

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In the annals of Ireland we remarked, as one of the last events of any consequence, a very popular bill, for limiting the duration of Irish parliaments to eight years. Until that octennial act, their duration was determined by the king's life; and as they were only to sit every second winter, their

CHAP. VII. 1770. actual duration might sometimes be shorter than that of English parliaments. Attended as this measure was with immediate popularity to the lord-lieutenant, and with a general sentiment of satisfaction to the whole of the Irish nation, it was thought a fit opportunity, in this season of sunshine, to obtain a vote of augmentation to the standing forces of the country. The proposed augmentation, which came in an earnest message from the crown, was for raising the establishment from 12,000 to 15,000 men. An offer was made, if this were done, to augment the effective force of Great Britain so as to have troops at all times ready for the security of Ireland. This bill, it must be observed, had been offered to the Irish parliament 1769. of 1768, but rejected. Next year it encountered considerable opposition. The Irish nation, it was justly observed, was loaded with the enormous expence of £1,000,000 sterling, for the nominal support of 12,000 men. The public expences, besides being burthened with the interest of a great debt, were increased by pensions, which amounted to £100,000 a year. In spite of all financial objections, the bill was passed, but not without an evident breach of good understanding between the governor and the governed.

The fate of the next bill brought forward by ministry demonstrated this to be the case. A money bill, which had originated with, and been framed in, the privy council, was brought to the house of commons; a measure which, though it had been strictly legal by the law of Poynings, yet justly appeared to the Irish parliament a violent outrage upon their rights as representatives. The framers of money bills (they alleged) are to be considered as the givers of the money; but the privy council are no representatives. In rejecting this bill, the express reason given for its rejection

was, that it had not originated in the commons: but to supply the national expences another bill was passed in the most liberal manner. The supply which they granted was £2,168,681. The lord-lieutenant, in his speech to both houses, acknowledged, in the highest terms, his sense of this liberality: but as the two great objects of the session had been already attained (the increase of the army, and the year's supply), it was thought proper, in a subsequent speech, to reprimand the commons for their obstinacy on the rejected money bill. In a speech, therefore, of entirely altered style, he entered a formal protest, in the house of peers, against the proceedings of the lower house, which (in consequence of a report being spread, that this was not to be done till the day before parliament was prorogued) took the house by surprise, yet did not escape a strong opposition from some of the more patriotic lords. The commons, acting with more unanimity, forebad the lord-lieutenant's speech to be entered on their journals.

CHAP. VII. 1769. 1768. Dec. 26.

In this manner were dissipated all the flattering hopes that had been cherished of Ireland's prosperity from the octennial bill. Except a compliance with the requisitions of government, all the national business remained undone. The term of all the temporary laws, concerning trade, agriculture, public institutions, charities, and securities, was expired, yet left unrenewed. This was too notorious a neglect of that distressed, discontented, and misgoverned, country to escape the notice of those in the British parliament who lay in wait to censure the errors of administration, and which it required no very intense observation to discern. It was contended, that the law called Poynings's was no authority for originating, but only enjoined the certifying, of acts of Irish legislation by the English privy council; and it was earnestly proposed to

1770.

CHAP. VII. 1779.

investigate the causes of the present deplorable state of their neighbour island, and to give that redress to the people which it seemed their native parliament could not grant. In these attempts at reformation, the proposers were, as usual, overruled.

CHAP. VIII.

Dispute with Spain about the Falkland islands.... Meeting of parliament in November.... Motion in the lords for the production of papers.... Partial change of administration.... Memorial of the British ministry to the court of Madrid.... Negociation begun.... Accidental dispute between the houses of lords and commons.... Letters of Junius.... Debates in parliament on the subject of libels.... Detection of remarkable corruption in the borough of New Shoreham.... Information given to parliament of the Spanish negociation being concluded.... Dispute between the house of commons and the mayor of London, upon the arrestation of two printers.... Farther proceedings of parliament till the recess.... Petition of the city to the throne.... Proceedings of parliament on their meeting after the holidays.... Attempts in favour of the dissenters.... Remarks on the affairs of India.... Bills introduced for the regulation of the India company.... Defence of Lord Clive.... The case of the Caribs of St. Vincents laid before parliament.... Interference of France in the war between Russia and Sweden.... Our remonstrance to the duc d'Aguillon on that head.... Efforts of the opposition to obtain a parliamentary reform.... Affairs of Ireland.... State of the public mind in America.... Violent discontents at Boston .... Correspondence between the governor of Massachussets-bay and the British ministry get into the hands of Franklin, are published, and occasion a violent ferment in the colonies.

PERHAPS there never was a time when England was less prepared for war than the present; yet, during the recess of parliament, rumours of an approaching rupture with the house of Bourbon were circulated, and seemed to be supported

CHAP. VIII. 1770.

by interesting proofs. The Spaniards had a powerful fleet in the West-Indies, and both in Spain and France the dock yards were in constant employment. It was not long before these suspicions were confirmed, by a dispute between the British government and the Spaniards, relative to Falklands islands. The islands so denominated by us, and by the French called 'Les Maloines,' were discovered in the year 1592, by the celebrated navigator Davies. Their position is fifty-one degrees and a half southern latitude, and about ten degrees on this side the straits of Magellan. From that period down to nearly the present times, though frequently touched at by various English navigators, it does not appear that they were ever visited by the Spaniards, far less that they were claimed by them as their undoubted possession. In consequence of the importance attached to them by Lord Anson, in the history of his voyages, Lord Egmont was induced, (in 1764), when at the head of the admiralty, to dispatch a squadron, under the orders of Commodore Byron, for the purpose of effecting a settlement, which that officer succeeded in establishing, in one of the smaller islands, near an harbour that received the name of Port Egmont. It would seem, that, previous to this event, but without our knowledge, a number of Frenchmen had settled on a different island, on a colonial adventure, which, though led by an individual, was patronized by the government. That settlement, owing to the good understanding subsisting between the two houses of Bourbon, the court of France had subsequently transferred to Spain, to remove the jealousy ever entertained by that power of the approximation of any foreigners to its American empire. Whether this transaction was known to our government, is a point involved in doubt. The following circumstances brought

the respective pretensions of the two nations to an immediate contest. CHAP. VIII. 1770.

A schooner belonging to Port Solidad (the new name given by the Spaniards to their late acquisition) falling in with two of our ships on the station of Port Egmont, was ordered by the commander, Captain Hunt, to depart from the coast, as belonging exclusively to the king of Great Britain. The schooner obeyed, and reporting what had happened to the Spanish governor, there ensued between him and the captain an exchange of protests, each warning the other to quit the islands, and asserting the right of his own sovereign. Two Spanish frigates touching soon after at Port Egmont, under the pretence of obtaining a supply of water, but evidently for a different object, Captain Hunt thought proper to sail for England, and on his arrival at Plymouth (June 3d 1770) related the whole affair. His story excited a strong feeling of irritation in the public mind; but, unluckily for the national honour, no measures were taken by ministers till indignities of a more serious kind had been offered.

In the same month that Hunt came to England, five Spanish frigates arrived at Port Egmont, carrying with them a force ridiculously disproportioned to the siege which they threatened. Sixteen hundred and fifty men, 134 pieces of cannon, and abundance of bombs, were the means destined for the reduction of Port Egmont; a fortification, if it could at all deserve the name, consisting of a wooden block-house, and four guns useless by being sunk in the mud. Preparations were nevertheless made, by Captain Farmer, to make the best of this pitiful rampart, with the aid of some men and guns drawn from a sloop in the harbour; nor were terms of capitulation demanded till after some shots had been fired. Although bound by

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the articles agreed upon to suffer our people to depart with their property, the Spaniards took care they should not sail for England till there was time for themselves to inform their court; and for this purpose they caused the rudder of the Favourite sloop to be taken off, and kept it during the space of twenty days. Intelligence of an affront thus offered to the British flag, by a country which the still recent triumphs of the last war had taught us to despise, kindled the utmost indignation in the great body of the nation. Ministers alone remained torpid, and proceeded so slowly in their preparations to enforce reparation that it was long withheld by the court of Spain.

Soon after the rising of parliament, a third address was presented to the king by the city of London, in which they lamented the heavy displeasure of his majesty, under which they had fallen by a free expression of their sentiments in a late petition and remonstrance, and renewing their prayer for the dissolution of the present parliament. His majesty's answer was, that he should have been wanting to the public, as to himself, if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at their late address: that he should ill deserve to be considered as the father of his people could he suffer himself to be prevailed upon to make such an use of his prerogative as was inconsistent with the interests, and dangerous to the constitution, of the kingdom. The lord mayor, Beckford, a man of undaunted spirit, demanded leave to answer the king. In the momentary confusion which this demand occasioned, permission was granted; and with great presence of mind and fluency of language he delivered an address, concluding with the following words:—'Permit me, sire, farther to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and sug-

gestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects, in general, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution.'[1] CHAP. VIII. 1770.

As the chance of external hostility was not of that serious nature which is apt to cement opposing parties, by a sense of common danger, but only sufficient to irritate the pride of the country, and excite a still farther discontent against administration, the peculiar ill humour of the times manifested itself in every proceeding. The manning of the navy met with difficulties: the sailors shewed a repugnance to the service; and the legality of press warrants began to be a theme of discussion, even among that unspeculative class of politicians. The very magistrates refused to back them; and Wilkes, now an alderman, discharged an impressed individual. A dreadful fire, which broke out at this critical conjuncture in the dock yard at Portsmouth, and which, in its possible consequences, at that period, might have weakened our strength as a maritime power, excited universal alarm throughout the nation. It was considered, by the more credulous alarmists, as one of the discovered traces of a deep-laid design of an insidious and inveterate enemy. July 27.

In this state of doubt and expectation, the people looked eagerly for the meeting of parliament. The death of Mr. George Grenville, which happened on the day it assembled, left his party without a leader, and many of them went over to the ministry. But the Rockingham party, and those who attached themselves to the earls of Chatham, Temple, or Shelburne, coincided in their general principles of opposition.

The king, in opening his parliament, acquaint-

[1] Alderman Beckford died soon after, and this speech was engraven on his monument.

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1770.

ed the two houses with the insulting act of the governor of Buenos Ayres, in seizing one of his majesty's possessions, and informed them, that should

Nov. 13. reparation be refused by Spain, preparations had been made, and were still making, to do ourselves justice. In mentioning the affairs of the colonies, the same style of complaint and reprehension was continued as in the former session; but a fact was noticed, of some consequence to our merchants, that the combinations entered into among the colonists, to abstain from the use of articles of our manufacture, had been found so disadvantageous to themselves that they began to grow tired of them, and to acknowledge the necessity of connection with the mother country. In conclusion, it was required of parliament to consult the common interests and dignity of the crown and the people, by a liberal provision for the unavoidable expences of the year, when the navy stood in need of formidable augmentation.

Addresses, in return to the royal speech, were presented from both houses, in a style entirely becoming the dignity of a British parliament. Englishmen, it was said in both of these addresses, however at variance among themselves, were always ready to unite against the aggressions of a foreign enemy. Soon after the delivery of these, a motion was made in the house of lords, by the

Nov. 22. duke of Richmond, and a similar one in the house of commons, by Mr. Dowdeswell, that all letters and papers relating to the late rupture with Spain should be laid before parliament. In making and supporting this motion, many severe censures were passed on the conduct of ministers: their pusillanimity on a former occasion was objected to them, when they suffered an encroachment to pass on the part of France with impunity, in occupying Corsica; a timorous proceeding, upon which an-

other branch of the hostile house of Bourbon had founded its expectations of our submitting to every measure of its insatiable ambition. CHAP. VIII. 1770.

Lord Hillsborough, in answer to the noble mover in the upper house, contended, that the production of the papers required would embarrass a negociation already in a prosperous train. He descanted on the punctiliousness of Spanish honour, and defended the whole conduct of ministry. The earl of Chatham replied to Lord Hillsborough, that it would be much more proper at present to talk of English, than of Spanish, honour, since, in the present instance, we were the complainants and not the offenders. He entered into the whole conduct of administration in this dispute; and, after establishing, with unanswerable clearness, that, situated as Britain was after such an insult, she was not permitted to negociate, he shewed, the weakness, the tameness, and the ignorance, of those at the head of affairs, as well as the unprepared state of the public defence, which made war as formidable to our fears, as reparation was necessary to our honour.

The negociation respecting the Falkland islands began on the 12th September 1770. On that day the British ministry sent the first memorial to the court of Madrid. The Spanish minister returned a short answer, that, as the king of Great Britain had no minister at Madrid, the king of Spain would send his answer to Prince Masserano, his minister at London. It was a favourable circumstance for the prevention of a war, that, at an early period in this negociation, the king of France, evidently averse to enter upon hostilities with England, dismissed, and sent into exile, his long favoured, and almost absolute minister, the duc de Choiseul, whose intrigues with the Spanish court were said to have had the speedy humiliation of England for

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their object. The demand of government, was to obtain a disavowal, on the part of the Spanish sovereign, of the conduct of his officer, the governor of Buenos Ayres, in the seizure of Port Egmont. Prince Masserano accordingly acquainted the English secretary of state, Lord Weymouth, that his sovereign had empowered him to disavow any particular orders given to M. de Baccarelli; but that the governor had acted according *to general orders*. The prince also agreed, in the name of his master, that the islands should be restored; but expected a disavowal of the menace of Captain Hunt, on the part of the British government. He added, however, that his catholic majesty considered this restitution as not at all affecting the question of right, to which the king of Spain laid claim over these islands. Before the termination of the negociation, Lord Weymouth resigned the seals of the southern department in disgust (as was said), at the meanness of a compromise, which his lordship considered as injurious to British honour. The menace of Captain Hunt was not indeed disavowed, as the court of Spain had demanded, but a secret engagement was annexed to the convention, that the islands should be evacuated by England within a certain period. As the condition of eventual restitution was a secret article, and the evacuation of the islands did not take place till three years afterwards, the degradation of national dignity was known to but a few, and therefore excited no immediate sensation. Lord Rochford succeeded to the place of Lord Weymouth; his seals of the northern department were given to the earl of Hallifax, to whose vacant station Lord Suffolk succeeded. Sir Edward Hawke relinquished the admiralty to the earl of Sandwich.

January 1771.

Our dispute with Spain was not the only interesting subject that engaged the attention of both

houses during the winter session. The liberty of the press and the rights of juries were intermingled as matter of debate, in consequence of recent events deeply affecting the existence of both. For some time past the celebrated letters of Junius had sensibly influenced the public mind, and, within the last year, attracted the interference of government. Lord Mansfield, in a charge to the jury on the criminal trial of Woodfall, for publishing Junius's letter to the king, had promulgated the following doctrine: that in cases of libel, the question of any publication being a libel or not a libel, was to be determined by the bench, and the question to be left to the jury to determine, was only the fact of printing and publishing. Lord Chatham, with all the vehemence peculiar to his genius, exposed the arbitrary principle of this declaration, and pronounced the judge who delivered it to be a violator of the constitution. Lord Camden, inspired with no less ardour, gave a public challenge to the lord-chief-justice, to defend his opinion in parliamentary debate on this momentous question of law. But the consciousness, either of his own personal inability to combat two such speakers as Chatham and Camden, or of his doctrine respecting juries being absolutely untenable, intimidated the noble judge from taking up the gauntlet. He contented himself with leaving a written paper in vindication of his opinion, to be read by the clerk of the house of peers, and did not even record it on the journals.

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A subject so important did not escape the observation of the opposition in the other house. On a motion made by Serjeant Glynne, to inquire into the administration of criminal justice, the eloquence of Dunning and of Burke were exerted with eminent distinction against the obnoxious opinion of the chief-justice. It was ob-

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served, however, as a trait of liberality in the minds of those illustrious speakers, that, in impeaching the judicial opinion of Lord Mansfield, they paid a due tribute to his integrity and general character. In this they laudably avoided the asperity of their leader Lord Chatham, whose only fault was a zeal rather to exterminate than subdue his opponents. A motion was afterwards made by the same party, for the direct purpose of ascertaining the exact powers of juries in cases of libels; but this, like the other, was unsuccessful.

An incident, which occurred before the recess of parliament, occasioned an animosity between the two houses that continued during the remainder of the session. The duke of Manchester made a motion for an address to the king, beseeching him to order an acceleration of the preparations for war, and to put our West-India possessions and Gibraltar in a proper state of defence. He was proceeding to descant on the insecure state of that fortress, and blaming ministers for negligence, when he was suddenly interrupted. The reasons alleged for this, were founded on the impropriety of suffering a discussion (of which no previous notice had been given) to be heard in the presence of strangers, when it tended to disclose the nakedness and weakness of the country. Lord Chatham and the duke of Richmond resisted the plea; but a violent clamour of *clear the house* prevented them from obtaining a hearing. These two noblemen, highly offended, retired with about 18 of their friends. Immediately after, several members of the lower house, who attended, with a bill, were ordered to depart. In vain they represented, that the performance of their duty obliged them to remain: they were compelled to retire till their message was delivered,—they were then re-admitted with their bill; but as soon as that ceremony was performed, ordered again to

withdraw. Inflamed with indignation, they returned to their own house, and gave an angry representation of the transaction: the seceding peers were present hearing the debates, and the first effort of resentment in the commons was inconsiderately directed against them. The standing order was read; and though the suggestion was opposed by a majority, they were obliged to quit the house. The lords gave strict orders that no strangers should for the future be admitted, excepting commoners who attended to present bills. CHAP. VIII. 1771.

Information was communicated to parliament of the Spanish negociation on the first meeting after the recess in January 1771, and soon afterwards the particulars of the compromise were laid before it in detail. In both houses they underwent a severe animadversion. Opposition contended, that an insult had been tamely received, and the country put to needless expence of armament, for obtaining a settlement of the dispute, by no means satisfactory to the national honour. It was said, that the present convention, besides its insecurity, had placed the honour of the British crown upon a par with the honour of inferior kingdoms, or even below it. In support of this assertion, the conduct of France in the case of Mandrin was cited, when the French monarch, for the small violation of a territorial right in the pursuit of an outlaw, smuggler, and murderer, thought it necessary to send an ambassador extraordinary to apologize to the king of Sardinia, in the most solemn and public manner. A late and similar instance was also quoted, in which we were ourselves a principal party. Our fleet under Admiral Boscawen having destroyed some French ships upon the coast of Portugal, we sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of Lisbon to make reparation to her honour. In the late dispute, we had been put to the expence

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of millions, and sat down without a compensation. As the conduct of Spain had been grounded on pretensions to the whole, we ought to have accepted no restitution that did not annul that extravagant claim; whereas, by the present convention, Port Egmont alone was restored to us, not the Falkland islands. It was also justly objected to ministry, that in all this negociation there had been no mention of the Manilla ransom, and that thus an immense booty, the hard earned gain of those who exposed their lives for the acquisition of that territory, had been taken from them by a scandalous dereliction of their claim. In spite of these objections, an address was moved and carried in both houses, to return thanks to his majesty for the communication of the Spanish declaration, to testify their satisfaction at the redress that had been obtained, and to assure his majesty of their affectionate and zealous support.

A remarkable scene of corruption was, in the course of this session, brought to light by the select committee appointed to determine a contested election for the borough of New-Shoreham. It appeared in the investigation of this business, that a majority of the freemen of that borough had formed themselves into a society, which they mis-called the christian club: that under the pretended object of charity, they made a traffic of oaths, and set up their borough for sale to the highest bidder: that they were bound to the nefarious interests of each other by oaths, writings, bonds, and penalties, and carried on their business through the medium of a committee. These circumstances being disclosed, a bill was brought in, by which, after several debates and alterations, eighty-one freemen of Shoreham were deprived of their right of voting at any election, and the right of electing members for that borough extended to all the freeholders in the

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rape of Bramber, in the county of Sussex, who had tenements of the value of 40*s*. CHAP. VIII. 1771.

Though this session had already been fruitful in subjects of debate, interesting to public attention, it had still in reserve a matter which, however at first sight of trivial moment, was capable, in its consequences, of bringing the privileges of the house of commons into question, and of subjecting the principles of those privileges to a public discussion; whilst it also produced the new and extraordinary spectacle of the lord mayor of London, and another of its principal magistrates, being committed prisoners to the tower. In the present latitude of political discussion, the publishers of newspapers had, for some time, inserted in them certain performances, as speeches of the members of parliament, some of them in the whole, all of them in the most essential parts, asserted to be genuine. Two printers, Wheble and Thomson, against whom the delinquency of misrepresentation was urged, were summoned to appear and answer to this charge at the bar of the house. Failing to obey the summons, a second order was issued; and as they still neglected to appear, a motion was made that the serjeant at arms should take them into custody. It was urged in opposition to this mandate, that the present was no time for irritating the public feelings, by any entrenchment on the freedom of the press; but it was thought by the majority inconsistent with the dignity of the house to have its orders disobeyed. Accordingly, on a report of the serjeant at arms, that the printers had absconded, a reward of £50 was offered for apprehending them. Six other printers were, in the meantime, for similar offences, called before the bar of the house and reprimanded. The two absconding printers being at length seized in the city, one of them being brought before Mr. now Alderman, Wilkes, was discharged

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out of custody. The other was taken before Crosby, the lord mayor, then sitting with Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes at the mansion-house, who not only set him at liberty, but committed the messenger of the house of commons to prison, under colour of an assault; for which order they received the thanks of the corporation of London. The lord mayor, and Mr. Alderman Oliver, as members of the house, were ordered to attend in their places next day. Both these gentlemen not only avowed, but justified, their conduct, as enjoined upon them by a regard to the privileges of London citizens, as also to their duties as magistrates, and resolutely refused all concession or apology; it was voted that they should be sent to the tower. Wilkes received a summons to attend at the bar of the house, but declined attending unless summoned to attend as a member; the house, dreading a new contest, issued another summons, designedly evasive. As the imprisoned magistrates were the idols of the people, a strong sensation was excited by their apparent sufferings. Among the London multitude, a very violent riot took place near Westminster-hall on the day of their attendance, in which Lord North had nearly fallen a sacrifice to their fury; and when the mayor and Oliver were released, their enlargement, while celebrated with a rational triumph by all the well-wishers to the liberty of the press, was hailed by the populace, whose passions had been inflamed by the contagious licentiousness of the day, with every mark of savage exultation. Since that time the reporters of debates have been unmolested.

A bill brought in this session, for more effectually enabling the East-India company to raise and support a military force, excited a considerable discussion. It was proposed to raise 2000 men, to be paid by the company, but officered by the king's

appointment; 600 of these to be German protestants, 700 Irish catholics, and the remainder English; the company's officers were likewise to be allowed the liberty of recruiting as well as the king's. To this bill it was objected, that it was unconstitutional, on account of its keeping in the kingdom an armed body, which was to be independant of parliament in respect of pay; that it introduced foreign mercenaries; that it gave a mass of influence to the crown, in appointing so many officers; and that it would injure the recruiting service of the country. With the modification of excluding Germans from the service, and of stationing this force, not in England, but in Guernsey or Jersey, under the condition also, of limiting the pay and bounty of the troops in the company's service, while in England, to an equality with the national troops, the bill passed two readings, but, by the influence of a strong opposition, principally supported by military men, it miscarried in the third. Another bill was introduced with more success, for inclosing and embanking part of the river Thames, upon which the pile of buildings now called the Adelphi stands. The city opposed it by counsel at the bar of the house, contending, that the soil and bed of the river in this quarter was their property. A grant of Henry VII was adduced as the foundation of this claim; but it was proved, on the other hand, that by a charter of Charles II, the city, in accepting of another benefit, had virtually abandoned that grant; and the bill passed through parliament. On the 1st of May, the earl of Chatham moved, in the house of lords, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, entreating his majesty, in consideration of the rights of the Middlesex electors having been violated by the house of commons, to dissolve the present parliament. The motion experienced the usual fate

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of opposition proposals,—it was negatived, and the session ended on the 8th of the same month.

1771. During the recess, another petition was addressed to the throne from the city: the livery were expressly forbid, in the presentation of this effusion of discontent, to attend the lord mayor to St. James's. The heads of the petition were complaints against the proceedings of the house of commons, in imprisoning their members, and depriving them of their rights and properties, and praying a dissolution of parliament, as well as the dismission of ministers. The king coldly answered, that he was ever ready to redress the real grievances of his subjects, but was sorry that the petitioners had only mentioned such things as could not be considered in that light.

By the death of Mr. Grenville, with the consequent desertion of many of his followers, and by the repeated defeats already sustained by the popular party, ministers now seemed to be firmly fixed in their seats. No urgent business demanding an early attendance, parliament did not meet till after the holidays. The tranquil aspect of affairs at home and abroad, the restitution of Port Egmont, and of the Falkland islands, lastly, a recommendation of vigilantly attending to those parts of our dominion which required peculiar attention from their remote situation, were the chief topics of the king's speech to the legislature. As the last subject evidently alluded to our dominions in India, it afforded an opportunity for those who seconded the address, to suggest ameliorations in the management and controul of that part of the empire.

Jan. 29, 1772. The first public business that came on, was a ministerial motion, that 25,000 seamen should be voted for the service of the navy. In support of this measure, the movers urged the necessity of

increasing our sea force in the East Indies, to which quarter the French had recently sent out a fleet, and the propriety of having the West Indies well guarded, in case of any sudden rupture either with Spain or France. The war between Turkey and Russia, was said to demand an increase of force in the Mediterranean; and in the disposal of guard ships it was affirmed that gross abuses had, till recently, existed. Among the opposers of the motion, were two of the greatest of our naval commanders, who represented, that a load of half a million was thus to be imposed on the public, when nothing but peace was proclaimed by ministers in foreign and domestic transactions. The motion, however, passed without a division.

A petition was soon afterwards received, signed by about 250 clergymen of the church of England, and a number of other respectable individuals, professors of law and physic, praying for a relief from subscription to the 39 articles, as a grievance inconsistent with the liberal spirit of the protestant religion, as well as those principles on which the reformation itself was founded, and as a discouragement to the diffusion of true religion, by clogging the investigation of the scriptures. The two professions of civil law and physic, complained in particular of this hardship, and exposed, in the clearest manner, the absurdity of binding down to a particular list of religious dogmas, any bodies of men, whose professional habits were wholly unconnected with theological controversy. All the arguments in favour of toleration were now at full length brought forward by the members of opposition, who were in general the supporters of this proposal. Sir William Merdith proposed, and Mr. Thomas Pitt seconded, the motion; it was ably supported by Wedderburn, Sir George Saville, Dunning, Sawbridge, and other distinguish-

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ed speakers in the minority. Among its opposers, although upon different grounds, were Burke, Lord North, and Mr. Fox. The movers of the bill said, that a happy opportunity was now offered of opening a door for the dissenters, through which, it was probable, that most of them would enter, and be received into the bosom of the church. The high-churchmen expressed alarm at this proposal, as tending to subvert the very foundation of established religion. They denied that parliament, in all their legislative authority, or the king, compatibly with his coronation oath, could anywise alter the articles of the national faith. As a personal argument against the petitioners, it was alleged, that subscription being a voluntary act, they were not entitled to complain of violence being offered to their consciences; their benefices had not been forced upon them, and they were ever at liberty to resign, to tranquilize their scruples, should any supervene. There is a wretched spirit of intolerance, and a fallacy, in this mode of arguing, which deserve to be noticed. All political evils might be glossed over with the same apology; since, even in despotic countries, the power is often left to the miserable inhabitants, of creeping out of their native place to seek refuge elsewhere: it is left to them to creep out of existence itself, if they find it intolerable; but does this alleviate or sanction the injustice under which they groan? When applied to the clergy, this principle is cruel, no less than grossly impolitic. The church being erected into an incorporate monopoly, whose charter is a creed, the meaning of which even its preachers can scarcely explain, far less reconcile its contradictions; the honest friend of religion is either precluded from entering into it at all, or should he have embraced it in early years, is placed between the cruel alternatives of incurring beggary, or pro-

pagating error. The hypocrite, on the other hand, who can disguise his opinions; and the sot who has no opinion at all, remain as the candidates for honour and promotion. For, in the common affairs of life, two men cannot be found whose thoughts, if they think at all, have not some characteristic difference. In religious speculations, there must be at least an equal variety of belief; and whosoever frames a specific creed for men to subscribe, must either trepan their consciences or their understandings, most generally the former. Of all the thousand individuals who sign the thirty-nine articles, is it credible that a hundredth part believe every article of what they sign? if one grain of allowance be made for mental reservation, it is perjury in the clearest sense, whatever gloss may be thrown over it by use and accommodation. The members of opposition, as well as those of administration, were divided upon this question. It was negatived, however, by a great majority.

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A motion was next made for leave to bring in a bill to quiet the possessions of the subject against dormant claims of the church, a bill of a similar nature to the *nullum-tempus* bill. Instances were produced of the heavy grievances that had attended the revival of these obsolete claims, while, in defence of the ecclesiastical rights, it was shewn, that severe hardships were apt to befal the poorer clergy, from the combinations and oppressions of their rich landed neighbours. As the bill contained a clause similar to that which had been proposed to be attached to the *nullum-tempus* bill, providing against such hardships, the force of this argument had its effect diminished. Administration, nevertheless, opposed this measure with success; yet it was negatived by a smaller majority than the last. A marriage had lately taken place, which had given great umbrage to the court, between his

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royal highness the duke of Cumberland and Mrs. Horton, the daughter of Lord Irnham. A mes-

1772. sage presented to the house, and to which the royal marriage bill owed its origin, was generally regarded as the consequence of this offensive union. The king, in this message, recommended to both houses to take into serious consideration, whether it might not be wise or expedient to supply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by some new provision, more effectually to guard the descendants of his late majesty (other than the issue of princes who have married, or may hereafter marry, into foreign families) from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs, or successors. A bill being brought into the house for the above purpose, it passed, along with a modifying clause, that such descendants, who were above the age of twenty-five, on giving the privy council twelve months previous notice of their design, might marry without the royal assent, unless both houses should forbid them.

March. Another bill, which was introduced for the object of religious toleration, excited the alarms of those high-church members who had resisted the petition respecting subscription and the *nullum-tempus* bill relative to ecclesiastical claims. They accordingly opposed it with great warmth, but found the general sense of the house strongly against them, and were surprised to see a considerable part of the administration joining for once with almost the whole of opposition in the liberal cause of toleration. Symptoms of a favourable disposition in one branch of the legislature, had occasioned a meeting of some of the dissenting ministers of London, and promises of support, with the offer to introduce a bill in their favour, induced them to lay their case before parliament. Their efforts were directed to obtain 'a legal security against

those penalties to which such of them were liable as could not conscientiously comply with the terms of the toleration act, and also to obtain relief for tutors and school-masters, from those oppressive laws to which they were exposed, and from the inconveniencies which they actually suffered in endeavouring to get the natural course of those laws obstructed. The motion for leave to bring in a bill for their relief was made by Sir Henry Houghton, and seconded by Sir George Saville. On this occasion the principle was fully debated, the hardships imposed by the law on protestant dissenters were descanted on in detail with the utmost force, and the generous principles of the British constitution were invoked for their relief. The opposers urged, that the laws against them were never enforced (a most profound argument, indeed, for retaining those laws *in terrorem*, which they were ashamed to put in practice), that all the barriers of the church would be broken down, and a levelling religion introduced, which had always been devotedly hostile to monarchy. In the lower house, the motion passed with little difficulty, but in the house of lords it encountered the eloquence of the bishops, and was rejected at the second reading.

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The first notice that was taken of Indian affairs, was in consequence of a motion made by the deputy chairman of the East-India company, for leave to bring in a bill, with a view to the better regulation of the company's servants and concerns in India. This bill had no smaller objects in view than the restraining of the governor and council from all manner of trade; a total alteration in the court of judicature, and in the mode of administering justice in Bengal, besides greatly enlarging the company's powers with respect to its servants, upon whom many new restrictions were imposed. The impropriety of allowing governors of distant provinces

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to become traders and merchants, and the inadequacy of the limited judicature of Bengal to dispense justice over so vast a territory, afforded pressing reasons in favour of these innovations. After a vain attempt by those who were hostile to the motion, to institute a more general inquiry, it was carried, and a bill introduced accordingly.

Although this bill was laid aside after the second reading, it brought out, in the heat of debate which attended it, a considerable knowledge of the East-India company's affairs, and many transactions were laid open, that evinced the absolute necessity of an inquiry into the government of those immense dominions. On the day of bringing in the bill, a motion was made for a select committee of thirty-one members, 'to inquire into the nature, state, and affairs, of the East-India company.' Every thing pleaded in behalf of this inquiry; 'the situation of India, the late distresses of the natives, who had died in millions by famine, the oppressive conduct of the company's servants, the decrease of revenues, and the enormous increase of expences.' Against instituting an inquiry by this committee, it was objected, that ministers would have the power of nominating (virtually, though not immediately) the members who were to compose it. The delicacy of the inquiry was also alleged by those whose feelings were more sensibly irritable to the publication of disagreeable truths at home, than to the commission of injustice abroad. The motion for a select committee was, however, carried; and the various subjects of their inquiries, which they were obliged to continue during a part of the next season, afforded ample matter of discussion in a subsequent period. Some resolutions respecting the corn trade, and disputes of little consequence between the two houses of parliament, formed the concluding business of the session. It ended on the

April 13.

9th of June with a speech from the throne, acknowledging, with high approbation, the great temper and prudence with which all deliberations had been conducted. Congratulations on the prospect of peace with all Europe were held out, and a comprehensive eulogy pronounced upon the state of public finances, and the general prosperity. CHAP. VIII. 1772.

Administration now appeared to carry every measure so irresistably, that the power of opposition scarcely admitted of a struggle. In this state of security, no changes of appointments took place which had any effect upon the general system of government. There were, however, some of inferior consequence. The earl of Hillsborough resigned his office to the earl of Dartmouth, who quitted opposition; but who having always acted in American politics with the moderate party, raised some hopes that our policy towards that quarter would be altered. The event, however, disappointed such expectations. The earl of Harcourt succeeded Lord Townsend in the government of Ireland. General Conway obtained the government of Jersey: Sir Jeffrey Amherst the command of the ordnance. Mr. Jenkinson was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland; and Mr. Charles Fox a lord of the treasury.

At this period, it was a necessary, though humiliating, proceeding of the East-India company, to throw themselves on the mercy of government, for indulgence, at least, if not for assistance. The directors had endeavoured to rectify abuses, and to restore the proper administration of their affairs, by appointing and sending out supervisors to India; but the ship in which they sailed was unfortunately lost, and their places could not be immediately supplied. A series of unfortunate incidents, expensive wars, the misdemeanours of their servants, and other contingent causes, had

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so embarrassed their affairs, that an application to government became indisensably requisite, to meet the payment of their paper money, and make good the tribute which had been stipulated as a price for their privileges. An event of dreadful memory in India, in the course of the year subsequent to the war with Hyder Ali, had increased the embarrassment of the company, by its effects in desolating the country, while it raised additional difficulties in their way, by exciting no very ill-founded odium in Europe against their character. This was the famine of 1770, during which, so horrible was the mortality, that the air and water were made putrid and infectious, with the corpses of those who perished from want. In the city of Calcutta, 100 men were constantly employed in the company's service to remove the dead from the streets into the Ganges. It must be owned, that the East-India directors did not, upon this occasion, sanction any monopoly among their servants; but it was known, to the reproach of human nature, that an infamous advantage was taken of this scarcity, by a number of British capitalists, who, by their monopolies, converted that scarcity into absolute famine. Individuals acquired wealth by this traffic of iniquity; but the coffers of the directors remained empty.

On their application to the first lord of the treasury, the directors were drily referred to parliament. Inquiries being set on foot, in consequence of this reference, and the innumerable misdemeanours of the company's servants being brought to light by a select committee, those charges came to be at last blended with the general inquiry into the company's affairs. Parliament met early, before the holidays, the consideration of Indian affairs being deemed urgent; and, according to the

Nov. 26. motion of Lord North, in the debate upon the

address, 'a secret committee, instructed with very full powers, was appointed for new inquiries.' The first resolution of the secret committee implied a confirmed resolution on the part of parliament, to take as much of the authority over Indian affairs out of the hands of the company as possible: it recommended bringing a bill into the house, for preventing supervisors being sent out. The bill was accordingly introduced; and after a warm opposition it passed both houses.

During the recess, it seemed proper to the court of directors to reduce their dividends; a measure which the embarrassment of their affairs ought to have dictated sooner: and in February they were reduced to pass a vote, that application should be made to parliament for the loan of £1,500,000, or so much as should be wanted for four years, at 4 per cent. to be paid in instalments of £300,000. In return to this application, Lord North moved, in the house of commons, a series of resolutions, of which the substance was, 1st, a restriction of the company's dividends till their debts should be paid; 2d, that until the public should participate the profits of the company, no larger dividends should be made than 8 per cent. Farther, that after repayment of their loan, and reduction of their bond debt to £1,500,000, three fourths of the nett surplus of their territorial revenues should be paid into the exchequer, and the remaining fourth set apart for contingencies. His lordship afterwards moved, for a permission to the company to export tea, duty free, to America; and finally proposed certain changes in India, as well as Europe, limiting the duration of the directors office, and instead of the mayor's court at Calcutta, instituting a new judicature, with judges appointed by the crown, over our recently acquired and extensive territories. In both houses,

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although these motions ultimately passed, they were opposed by all the interest of the India company, and by the voice of the city, of which so many rich merchants were Indian stockholders. A perfect revolution might be said to be effected by these resolutions of parliament, through which all the management of India was transferred from the hands of the company to those of the ministers of the crown. A petition was received from the former, pending the agitation of the bills, in which they begged to decline the loan, clogged as it was with such terms; but it was determined to save the company in her own despight, and to force the benevolence of the public upon her against her will. An opportunity was offered to Lord Clive, in the course of these debates, of encountering all the accusations against his character, to which his strictness in reformation in India had exposed him. His character was ably vindicated, and the facts were brought to prove, that, in all his management of its affairs, he had been a jealous, an able, though, to the guilty peculators of Indian property, an offensively austere, controuler. His cause was pleaded by Wedderburn, the solicitor general, and supported by his own eloquence.

An appeal was at this time made to the house of commons, upon a contest that had arisen with the Caribs of St. Vincents. This island was originally inhabited by a race that have been more lately called the yellow Caribs. About 100 years ago, a slave ship from Guinea was wrecked on its coast. The negroes on-board escaped, and, settling there, in a short time, by inter-marriages, by fraud, and by force, they made themselves masters of almost the whole. During the unequal contest between the timid inoffensive natives and the crafty and daring Africans, the French landed, and gradually gained

possession of a great portion of the island. By our treaty of 1762, St. Vincents was ceded to Great Britain, without any notice being taken of the Caribs. It was then supposed to contain about 4,000 or 5,000 French inhabitants, whilst the Caribs could muster 1,000 fighting men. St. Vincents having been one of the islands declared neutral, the settlements upon it were certainly infractions of former treaties; yet the French settlers were permitted to hold their former possessions, under certain stipulations. Numbers of them, however, abandoning the island, the English settlers soon became considerable in numbers and property. Commissioners had been appointed for the sale of the disposable lands in our newly acquired French islands: at the same time instructions were given them not to molest, or offer any disturbance to, the blacks. In a short time, however, the disagreeable vicinity of so many barbarous inhabitants, and the sight of so much fertile country lying useless in their hands, operated on the fears and the avarice of the English planters so powerfully, that they intimated a wish to government to procure a survey and disposal of the lands possessed by the Caribs. It was proposed, on their part, and agreed to by government, to deprive the Caribs of their possessions, and to grant them such an equivalent, either in the island or elsewhere, as should be thought necessary. Instructions were accordingly issued, in the beginning of the year 1768, for this purpose. A price was to be given the blacks for the cleared lands, and five years allowed for their transplantation to the other lands, which were to be their own, not even alienable to whites, upon the sole tenure of their good behaviour. Although there have been violations of national independence far more heinous than even the enforcing of this arbitrary bargain,

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yet it seemed preferable to the blacks rather to make a determined refusal, than submit to be turned out of their lands by any bribe or compensation. Already the French had impressed them with prejudices against the British; and it was not without a jealousy, very natural to their situation, that they saw a band of commissioners advancing into the very heart of their country, dividing it into portions for their future usurpations. A party of soldiers, sent to protect the commissioners, were quickly surrounded by the blacks, who, it is but justice to say, shewed, at first, no willingness to shed blood, but contented themselves with inclosing the detachment, demolishing the huts of the commissioners, and breaking up the roads. A number of pathetic complaints now arrived from the planters, against their unsafe and uncivilized neighbours, whom they described as a race—'by nature thieves; a desperate and mischievous horde of savages.' If we recollect, however, that the French planters lived for half a century on such terms with those Caribs, as never to need having recourse to force for defence, it appears very doubtful whether these importunate planters were not a little better entitled to be called by nature a race of thieves.

In consequence of a contumacious declaration on the part of the Caribs, that, as the land they held was their own, they owed obedience to no other power but their government, and would not be transplanted at the pleasure of the English, orders were issued from home, that two regiments should be sent from North America, to join an equal number that were already at S^t. Vincents. As soon as the dispute became of interest in England, it occasioned a serious discussion in the house of commons. A number of examinations took place into the character of the na-

tives, who, by the planters interested in their destruction, were described as a most dangerous people, but, by officers who had served in S^t. Vincents, as perfectly the reverse. In the accusation against them, they were charged with having maintained a correspondence with the French, and of having suggested plans, which, if these had adopted, would have driven us out of the island. It was ascribed also to French influence, that they had made the assertion of their independence already mentioned. With respect to their intrigues with France, nothing could be more natural than to apply for assistance to a nation in whom, by a long acquaintance, they had reason to repose confidence against intruders, of whom they had heard only indifferent accounts: besides, it was proved, that their correspondence began after the agitation of plans for disposing of their lands. After it became evident that nothing but violent means could reduce them, it was seriously proposed, and about to be adopted as a plan, that they should be forcibly shipped off the island, and landed on some desert island, or the coast of Africa, with such tools and provisions as might seem proper for their subsistence.

When the general question about S^t. Vincents came again under consideration of parliament, a long debate took place, in which little room was afforded for great political speculation, but abundance for animadversion upon the injustice of binding an unoffending people to a forced disposal of their property. On this occasion Colonel Barré took up the cause of the Caribs with his usual spirit and ability. He was also particularly happy in throwing ridicule upon the extravagant descriptions which the council of S^t. Vincents gave of their redoubtable enemies, and drew a parallel between their president, Mr. Alexander, and his

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namesake, Alexander of Macedon, which afforded great mirth to the house; but the motion of opposition was lost, by a large majority.

The Caribs, under infinite disadvantages, of inferior numbers, of discipline, and of being cut off from external communications for ammunition and provisions, defended their country with considerable courage and conduct. Our troops suffered considerably from the climate, as well as the enemy; and mutual hardships soon brought on a treaty between the Caribs and our commander, Major Dalrymple. The original object of the war was entirely abandoned; the Caribs acknowledged allegiance to his majesty's government, and obedience to our laws, in all points regarding their intercourse with the whites; but in their own districts, and in all matters of intercourse with each other, they were allowed to be guided by their ancient usages and laws. They ceded a large portion of land to the crown, retaining, however, certain districts in perpetuity to themselves and their posterity. Our loss in this expedition amounted to 500 or 600, in killed, sick, and wounded.

Jan. 17.

A petition for increase of pay to the captains of the navy was presented by Lord Howe on the 9th of February, and, although opposed by the minister himself, was granted, to the amount of two shillings a day.

July 1.

In the speech from the throne, which put an end to this tedious session, much satisfaction was expressed at the conduct and deliberations of parliament. The continuance of the war between Russia and the Porte was regretted; a close friendship with both acknowledged, with no engagement to either. It was hoped, from the pacific disposition of other powers, that those troubles would extend no farther; and the usual professions were made, of endeavouring to preserve the general

tranquillity, so far as it could be done with consistency. After returning thanks for the supplies, great pleasure was expressed, that, notwithstanding the ample provision which had been made for every branch of the public service, and the effectual support afforded to the East India company, some progress had been made in reducing the national debt. CHAP. VIII. 1772.

Hostilities had already raged between Russia and the Porte since the year 1769, during which, almost every battle, by sea and land, was a victory to the former. They had over-run Wallachia and Moldavia, and had almost annihilated the Turkish navy at one blow, in the harbour of Chesme, on the coast of Natolia. France was accused of fomenting those disturbances in Poland, which eventually led to a war so inauspicious to the Turks, in favour of whom her partiality was evident. After looking on during some time as a partial spectator of the contest, and, if at all giving assistance, affording it unavowedly, she began to shew her open jealousy of Russia, by maritime preparation in her ports. The treaties of Britain with both of the belligerent parties did not permit her to bear the interference of a foreign and armed mediation.

Early, accordingly, in 1772, measures had been adopted for increasing the navy, by an addition of 20,000 men, although the case forbade a public insinuation, much less the declaration, of an expected rupture.

In March of the following year, the French minister, duc d'Aguillon, announced a demand which had been made to his court by Sweden for succours, according to subsisting treaties, against the intended attacks of Russia and Denmark, who menaced her independence. According to the duke's representation, Sweden would not be satisfied with 1773.

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assistance in money, but insisted on a fleet of fourteen sail to be sent to the Baltic. Although the French monarch was averse to hostile preparations, his minister had influence to get the armament equipped.

March.

Our ambassador, Lord Stormont, immediately interfered, to have an explanation of these alarming motions, and gave the French minister to understand, that a French fleet in the Baltic must inevitably draw a British fleet there also, and the consequences of the two meeting might excite a war, even without a formal declaration. If it pleased France to assist Sweden, she was at liberty, he said, to afford her succour, but not by sending a fleet to that quarter.

Although the armament at Brest was countermanded, the views of France were not changed by his lordship's remonstrance, another armament, of thirteen sail of the line, being ordered at Toulon.

April.

A new remonstrance was therefore issued, debarring a fleet being sent into the Mediterranean, as well as into the Northern seas. A ridiculous apology made for the latter equipment, that it was only meant to exercise the sailors, was treated with just incredulity. As D'Aguillon was suspected of being personally more inclined to war than his court was known to be, it was judged expedient to urge the interdiction of an armed interference on the part of France, not by interviews, but by a strong memorial, in consequence of which immediate orders issued, countermanding both of the offensive equipments. Two frigates only were sent to the Archipelago, and two ships of the line to Brest. Our own naval armaments were accordingly discontinued, and, in the next year, a peace was concluded between Russia and the Porte.

A few ineffectual efforts were again made to interest the public in behalf of those men and mea-

sures, which, a few years before, had been the great topics of conversation and debate. Mr. Wilkes, in the spring, renewed his claim to a seat in parliament, in consequence of being summoned, by the sheriffs, among the county and city members. Another motion being made for his admission, and all the election business brought once more under discussion, in which Sir George Saville appeared as the leading member of opposition, his claim was, as usual, rejected. A resolution was passed by the city, of no inconsiderable import in a political view, and highly laudable as an effort to reform the constitution, had it been advanced under purer connections than its immediate patrons, or had it been dictated by enlightened and liberal principles, rather than by a wish to serve the factious and personal interests of the city demagogues. In one of his late speeches in the house of lords, the earl of Chatham had declared himself a convert to the doctrine of triennial parliaments. Founded upon, or at least encouraged by, this declaration, a motion was made by Mr. Oliver, in the court of aldermen, 'that a frequent appeal to the people, by short parliaments, was their undoubted right, and the only means by which the right of a real representation could be enjoyed and maintained.' This motion being passed into a resolution, and one of the same kind made at a meeting of the livery, it was agreed to petition the crown. His majesty, on receiving the petition, censured it in the strongest terms.

In Irish politics, the accession of Lord Shannon and of Mr. Ponsonby to the strength of the minority, added no inconsiderable weight to the expectations of that party. On that day of the first session of 1771, when the address to the crown was to be moved, a violent riot took place in Dublin: the house of parliament was surrounded, and the

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ministerial members were grossly insulted. When the address was carried, by which a vote of thanks was offered to the king for continuing Lord Townsend in the lord-lieutenancy, Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker of the house of commons, resigned his chair, declaring, that he considered the address as derogatory to the dignity of the house, in consideration of what had passed during the last session. Edmond Sexton Pery, esquire, was elected his successor, with the promise of obtaining, soon after, a peerage.

By the arrangements he had made previous to the opening of the session, the lord-lieutenant thought himself assured of a majority, and accordingly met the commons with confidence. His great object was to do away the votes of the last session, and to justify his conduct in the sudden and continued prorogations of parliament. An address was brought forward by the patriots, of which the object was to convey a marked disapprobation of the recent conduct of government, in several important cases. It set forth, that a law had been recommended, and even promised, by his majesty's lord-lieutenant, for securing the independency of Irish judges, notwithstanding which his majesty's faithful commons had been disappointed in their expectations: that a number of bills had, in like manner, been suggested for the advantage of the internal economy of Ireland, by the suppression of which, as well as by the alteration of others, the hopes of the country had been blasted, although founded in open declarations of his majesty's servants. In conclusion, his majesty was implored to take such steps as his wisdom should dictate, for remedying the evils, and advancing the improvement, of the country. The motion was lost, by a majority of 123 against 68. In addressing the house, his excellency took occa-

sion to boast of his economy in finance; an economy which had saved him the necessity of applying to the commons for any farther supply in the last session; but now he told them, that it was with concern he found himself obliged to ask a sum of money to disharge the arrears already incurred on his majesty's establishments. Another part of the lord-lieutenant's speech referred to the illegal associations and audacious outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom (especially in the north), which deserved the interference of the legislature, as destructive to commerce and disgraceful to liberty. A banditti, under the name of steel boys, or hearts of steel, kept whole counties in alarm, by their crimes and depredations. Such was their boldness, that one of the insurgents being apprehended, and carried to Belfast, several thousands of his associates assembled to rescue the prisoner, and with this view proceeded to the town. When intelligence of their approach reached it, he was removed to the barracks, and put under a strong guard. The steel boys pressed forward to the barracks, firmly determined upon his liberation. The consequences, in all probability, would have been fatal to many on both sides, and to the town, had not a gentleman, of commanding influence, interfered, at the risk of his life, and prevailed with the military to set the prisoner at liberty. Being delivered up accordingly to his associates, they marched off in triumph. The rioters returned home, but still their numbers increased. Besides the oaths which they exacted, they maltreated individuals, demolished houses, and committed innumerable acts of inhumanity. Some of them were taken, and tried at Carrickfergus; but whether from want of evidence, fears of the jury, or perjury of witnesses, they were acquitted. On this account, the legislature passed

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CHAP. VIII. 1773. an act, by which all persons indicted for such offences were ordered to be tried in a different county from that where those excesses had been committed.

Excepting two acts of interesting import, the remainder of Lord Townsend's lieutenancy passed without any incident worthy of notice, either from the opposition of the patriots within, or the disturbance of persons out of, parliament. Of these, the first was an act for the encouragement of the protestant religion, by which an addition of £10 per annum was made to the pension of £30 already allowed to every popish priest who should become convert to the reformed faith. In the prelude to the act, it was gravely assigned as a cause for this measure, that the provision hitherto held out had not been a sufficient inducement for those men to renounce their tenets. The Irish distinguished these pensions by the name of Townsend's golden drops. It is hardly necessary to comment upon the propriety of encouraging a pure religion, by means so abominable as that of bribing to apostacy, as if government had determined to give a price to all the renegadoes of the Irish church, and to leave none among that description of clergy but those who were above temptation.

After so piously discharging his duty to the protestant religion, his lordship ventured to patronize an act which was conceived favourable to the catholics, as they constituted so large a portion of the poorer class of the community, whose benefit it was certainly calculated to promote. The purport of the measure was, to encourage the reclaiming of bogs; nuisances equally unprofitable and unwholesome, in which the country then abounded, and many of which still remain. The statute enacted, that, notwithstanding the laws then in force, any catholic might be at liberty to take a

lease of fifty plantation acres of such bog, and one half acre of arable land adjoining, as a site for a house, or for other purposes, at any rent he might agree upon with the owner of the soil. The tenant was to be free, for the first seven years, of all tithes and cesses. But it was provided, that if half of the bog were not reclaimed at the end of twenty-one years the lease should be void. No bog was to be considered unprofitable, unless the depth of it from the surface, when reclaimed, were four feet at least; and no person was to be entitled to the benefit of the act, unless he reclaimed ten plantation acres. The act was not to extend to any bog within one mile of a city or market town. CHAP. VIII. 1773.

In addressing parliament for the last time, the viceroy noticed, that the arrears incurred upon his majesty's establishment, civil and military, had made it necessary for him to borrow £100,000; and that that sum not sufficing, he had since been obliged to raise an additional £100,000, being the full extent of the credit intrusted to him by parliament. According to the viceroy's statement, the causes of this deficiency were, the premiums and bounties allowed by the legislature, and the expences of public works. In both houses, however, there was a strong minority, who ascribed it to infinitely less honourable causes, and openly charged the lord-lieutenant with having obtained a majority of the members, and of keeping them steady in their ranks, by the means of bribery and corruption. Every effort, however, of the patriots, to countervail a system so firmly established was unsuccessful; it was impossible to rescue the parliamentary influence from the uncontroulable direction of the castle. On the 9th of October 1772, the viceroy was recalled, and Lord Harcourt went over as his successor.

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1773. Throughout most parts of America, as we have before mentioned, the people had become weary of those engagements into which they had entered, for obviating the necessity of a connection with the mother country: the inconvenience experienced had been found so great, that all the influence of the patriots was insufficient to prevail upon their countrymen to persevere. Intercourse with Britain was now therefore opened for every thing, but the importation of tea; and during the remainder of this year, and the whole of the next, commerce flowed into the colonies in a tide unusually full. The reservation of the duty on tea afforded an argument to the patriots to object against parliament for establishing a precedent of illegal taxation; an epithet to which all taxation imposed by Britain on America was generally thought obnoxious: but still the country at large seemed to forget this cause of complaint, while no new attempt was made to increase the grievance.

In the New-England provinces, however, the restrictions on their commerce, the establishment of a board of customs, and a steadier execution of the laws of trade, excited equal concern with the subject of taxation. Assuming a higher, rather than a more conciliatory, tone, from the concessions of the mother country, the assembly of Mas-

1771. sachusets-bay declared, in addressing their governor, 'that they knew of no customs or revenue which his majesty had a right to establish in North America.' After the removal of the troops, the custom officers, being left exposed to the indignation of the populace, suffered insults, and even sometimes degrading punishments. This spirit of impatience pervaded all the New-England provinces. The Gaspee, a king's schooner stationed at Rhode island, to prevent contraband trade, was

June. boarded in the night, by 200 armed men, who

set her on fire, after wounding her commander, and dragging her crew on shore. An increase that was made about this time to the salaries of the American judges, although a proper and laudable endeavour to make them independent, was, by the republican party in Massachusets-bay, interpreted and proclaimed a device of government to ruin them, by bribing the administrators of justice. At a town meeting of the Bostonians, the governor was called upon to convene an assembly, which he refused. A new declaration of rights was in consequence drawn up, and distributed, in which a protest was taken against the declaratory act of 1766, and, in conclusion, the Americans were called upon ‘ *not to sit supinely any longer, while the iron hand of oppression was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty.*’

CHAP. VIII. 1771. October 25.

When the assembly of this province met, in the month of January 1773, the governor, probably intending to give them an opportunity, if so disposed, of doing away the impressions which might have been propagated by the unqualified resolutions of the town meeting at Boston, took occasion, in his speech, to insist on the supreme legislative authority of the king and parliament. But if he hoped to benefit government by this discussion, he was entirely disappointed; for the assembly took an opportunity, in framing their answer to his address, to deny the authority of parliament to legislate for them, in terms the most unlimited. ‘ If there had been, in any late instances,’ they said, ‘ a submission to acts of parliament, it was more from want of consideration, or a reluctance to contend with the parent state, than a conviction of the supreme legislative authority of parliament.’ Upon maturer reflection, six months afterwards, they had occasion to apologize for the

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intemperance of the style in which this address was couched.

A circumstance occurred, while the public mind of America was in a state so well prepared for receiving an unfavourable turn, which tended greatly to heighten the animosity on both sides. The successor in the government of Massachussets-bay to Sir Francis Bernard, was Colonel Hutchison. This gentleman, in corresponding with his own court, upon the subject of American discontents, had thought proper to express himself in such language as, with every reasonable allowance for his bias to the side of government, and for the secrecy of private letters, was illiberal and aristocratic in principle, beyond what ought to be tolerated in the governor of a free country. 'There must be' (said Colonel Hutchison, in one of his epistolary advices), 'an abridgement of English liberties in America.' Mr. Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, had also expressed himself in the same courtly language in his dispatches, and hinted to his employers *an alteration of American charters*, and the establishing a new order of patrician rank. The letters containing all these offensive suggestions were, by means more patriotic in the object than honourable in the execution, 'diverted into the hands of the celebrated Dr. Franklin, agent for the colonies at the British court, who communicated them to the assembly.' They occasioned an immediate and violent heat. A deputation was sent to shew the letters to the governor, but without trusting them into his hands. As he owned the signature, they prepared a petition and remonstrance to the king, charging the governor with betraying his trust, and slandering the people of America, declaring him and his coadjutor enemies to the colony, and praying for their removal from office.

The news of an important measure, which has been already mentioned, viz. the act for empowering the commissioners of the treasury to grant licences to the East-India company to export tea to the colonies free of duty, was brought to America very soon after this event. A strong spirit of irritation was excited in all those leaders of public opinion on the continent who had inveighed against the right of Britain to impose any taxation on America, on finding that, after all the apparent accommodation of England to avoid coming to hostilities, and in spite of the repeal of taxes, which their spirited opposition had procured, an insidious tax was still left, upon an article which, to the bulk of the people, was an absolute necessary of life, in order thus to insinuate a precedent for future impositions upon a larger scale. The most zealous patriots immediately bestirred themselves to resist the attempt, and the contagion of public feeling made opposition very general. It was foreseen, that if tea were once landed, and introduced in America, it would be impossible to prevent its sale and consumption. In the month of November, three ships freighted with that article, on account of the East-India company, were on their passage to Boston. That place became a scene of violence and riot, which was chiefly directed against the consignees of the tea ships, in whose defence the governor exerted himself to no purpose, even the council refusing any measures for securing the cargoes on their arrival, or protecting the objects of popular fury. The governor's proclamation was treated with neglect, and the sheriffs were grossly insulted. The first ship which reached Boston was detained below Castle William. A 'town meeting'[1] of the inhabitants

[1] A meeting to which every person was indiscriminately admitted.

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being called, the resolutions that had been already passed, in the city of Philadelphia, for obviating the arrival of tea, were referred to, and their example proposed for imitation. They were agreed to, but carried into effect with a good deal more violence than was shewn by their Pennsylvanian brothers. A committee had been appointed at Philadelphia to wait on the consignees of the tea vessel, and to request their resignation. In imitation of this proceeding, the Bostonians appointed a committee to wait upon the consignees of the tea, to know whether they would resign their appointments. This they declared not to be in their power. At a succeeding meeting of the inhabitants, it was voted, in a tumultuous manner, that the tea should not be landed, that no duty should be paid, and that it should be sent back in the same bottoms. The meeting then appointed a military guard to watch the ship till further orders; but this guard was soon after unexpectedly withdrawn, and a numerous mob, in the disguise of Mohawk Indians, suddenly sallied forth, boarded the ships, split open the chests, and committed the contents of about 342 to the waves. Measures were adopted, in other provinces, to prevent the landing: some ships were compelled to return without coming to anchor, and several cargoes were destroyed; but in no other place was such a systematic and overbearing spirit of opposition manifested as in Boston. In general, the commissioners for the sale of that commodity having been obliged to relinquish their employment, no other persons had courage to receive the cargoes which were consigned to them. From these circumstances, as well as from a sense of danger, and of the determined resolution of the people, the masters of vessels readily complied with the terms that were prescribed, of returning directly to Eng-

land, without entangling themselves with the custom-house. At New York, tea was indeed landed, under the cannon of a man of war; but the government there were obliged to consent to its being locked up from sale. In South Carolina, some was thrown into the river, as at Boston. Such was the issue of this unfortunate scheme for raising a revenue upon tea, and for promoting the exports of the East-India company. Some disposition to these disturbances was known pretty early; but as their full result was yet unknown, parliament did not meet till after the holidays.

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Proceedings of the first session of parliament in 1774.... Petition heard from the legislature of Massachussets-bay.... Bill introduced for the punishment of the city of Boston.... Debates on that subject.... First great appearance of Charles Fox in his political career.... Bill of extensively restrictive nature for the government of the province of Massachussets-bay.... Petition against these bills from the city of London and from the Americans resident in London.... Debates on the same subject in parliament.... Important speech of Chatham on the latter bill, in his first appearance after retiring some time from public business.... Debates on the Canadian bill.... Proceedings in the state of Massachussets.... Their cause embraced by the whole continent of America.... Meeting of the provincial congress of Massachussets.... Meeting of a general congress of the colonies.... Their resolutions and memorials.

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THE speech from the throne, which opened the first parliament of 1774, observed a profound silence with respect to the affairs of America; the continuance of the war on the continent was regretted, while hopes were expressed of a general tranquillity being speedily restored. Among the objects of internal regulation introduced to the notice of parliament, and chiefly recommended to their consideration, was the diminution observable in the gold coin, and the alarming progress of that inconvenience. No particular supply was demanded: the usual declaration was renewed, of a hearty concurrence in every measure that might tend to

the prosperity and happiness of the people. The addresses were passed with the usual acknowledgments and professions. CHAP. IX. 1774.

After some discussions on the various subjects of the address, the high peace establishment of the navy, and the vast increase of expence in every branch of that department, became a source of debate in this session, as it had been in the two preceding. Twenty thousand seamen were again moved for. This motion was carried without a division; a division not having been usual for several years upon a subject of supply. The motion, which was now become annual, for shortening the duration of parliament, was again repeated by the gentleman, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, who first introduced it, and had actually pledged himself for its renewal in every session of parliament. This motion produced no debate; but the question being called for, it was rejected by a great majority, the numbers being 221, against 94, who supported it.

On the same day, Sir George Saville's annual motion relative to the Middlesex election, was also renewed, and leave requested to bring in a bill for effectually securing the rights of the electors of Great Britain, and to secure to that house the eligibility of persons to serve in parliament. This motion brought on a considerable debate, in spite of its want of novelty, and produced a closer division than might have been expected. It was rejected upon a division in a full house, by a majority of only 59.

On the 29th of January, a privy council assembled to hear the petition from the legislature of Massachusset's bay, which they had framed the last year. Dr. Franklin, as agent for the house of representatives, was examined as a witness, and explained the illicit means by which he had obtained the letters of Governor Hutchison, in consequence of

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which he was deprived of his office of deputy postmaster general for the colonies. Wedderburn, the governor's council, inveighed in the severest terms against Dr. Franklin, of whom he wittily said, in allusion to his being known as a man of letters, that he deserved the Latin appellation, *Homo trium literarum*, which, among the Romans, was a delicate periphrasis for a 'thief.'

Feb. 25. The utility of the late act for the trial of controverted elections, known by the name of the Grenville election, had become apparent to the greater part of the nation; yet a motion for rendering it perpetual met with an opposition in the house of commons, at the head of which stood the minister himself. In evidence of the utility of the measure, a number of members, of different political parties, offered the facts which had come under their own immediate observation. A lawyer of the first eminence (Mr. Dunning) asserted, that although election disputes had formerly afforded an inexhaustible fund of litigation in Westminster, not a single suit upon that subject had appeared in any of the law courts since the commencement of the term, nor would (he believed) during its continuance. In opposing the bill, the principal objection that was urged was, that it deprived the house of that *dernier* right of determining upon elections, which was said to be essential to its nature and existence. On dividing the house, the bill was found to have a majority; and, in this instance, the minister afforded a spectacle, which has generally been regarded as the prelude to dismission, being left in a minority. His present defeat, however, was attended with no farther consequences.

A few days after the Grenville bill was carried, the intelligence of the recent events in America, occasioned a message to both houses from the throne, exhorting parliament to take into serious

consideration the unwarrantable outrages, especially those committed at Boston, by which an injury had been offered to the commerce, and an insult to the constitution and dignity of the crown; and seriously to deliberate upon the steps proper to be pursued for securing the execution of the laws of the country over the colonies, and the maintenance of our established authority. A number of papers relating to those violent transactions accompanied the message; letters from officers in authority, and from witnesses upon the spot, as well as copies of such writings and publications in America, as evinced the outrageous spirit of dissatisfaction, against which the legislature was called upon to provide. As these papers, (however insufficient they might have been to convict any absent individual or number of men of the crimes alleged, a defence and opposite set of evidence not being produced), went clearly to establish the fact, that a violent spirit pervaded the continent, and an open and insulting contempt of British authority had been displayed at Boston in particular; they produced a strong sensation in parliament. The acts of violence having been public and unquestioned, it was the object of ministry to confine the present question rather to the outrages of the Bostonians, than to the general investigation of American grievances. On this account, they deprecated all retrospective views of American politics. The leaders of opposition, while they disclaimed all intention of impeding the measures of government, and would not move any question, or propose a division, for the present, yet strongly condemned the measure of offering an ill digested address, and proposed a radical investigation of the evil causes to which the rupture with America owed its origin. Unless that radical cause of quarrel were removed, and the minds of the colonists made easy upon the subject of taxation, they considered

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it unnecessary to inquire into the excesses of the Americans, whose behaviour had been the result of our alternate violence and weakness. A retrospect for punishment, they insisted, was often necessary; but to prevent such a retrospect, with a view to direct the conduct of parliament, and to bereave of authority feeble and destructive counsellors, even when not charged with direct guilt, was always their duty and their interest.

Mr. Bollan, agent for the council of Massachussets-bay, thought it necessary to present to the house at this juncture, a petition, desiring that he might be permitted to lay before it, the *acta regia* of Queen Elizabeth and of her successors, for the security of the planters and their descendants, and the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties. These documents, he presumed, had never been laid before the house, nor had the colonies ever had an opportunity to ascertain and defend these rights. The petition was easily received, and ordered to lie upon the table.

The minister, after having moved, that the king's message of the 7th of March should be read, opened his plan for the restoration of peace, justice, and commerce, in the Massachussets-bay. He proposed that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea which had been destroyed in its port. This mode of fining communities for their neglect in punishing offences committed within their limits, he justified by a number of examples. Among others, that of London, which was fined for the murder of Dr. Lamb, perpetrated by unknown persons: that of Edinburgh, in the affair of Captain Porteous: and the punishment of the city of Glasgow, by confiscation of their revenue, for the riot in which Mr. Campbell of Shawfield's house was demolished. Besides exacting a pecuniary satisfaction from the people of Boston, he required

security for the future observance of laws and payment of duties, and proposed to take away from Boston the privilege of a port, removing the custom house officers to Salem, where they might be safe in the exercise of their functions, until this satisfaction was made. No military force would be necessary, he said, for enforcing this punishment; four or five frigates would suffice. The other colonies (continued the minister) will leave the Bostonians to suffer this deserved punishment; or if they do combine with them, we are not answerable for the rebellion that may ensue. Let us proceed with firmness, justice, and resolution, to procure obedience to our laws, and security to our trade. On these grounds, leave was given, and a bill introduced, 'for the immediate removal of the March 14. officers concerned in the collection of the customs from the town of Boston, in the province of Massachussets-bay, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping, of goods, wares, and merchandize, at the said town of Boston, or within the harbour thereof.' Some slight objections were started to the evidence of the excesses alleged to have been committed; but the motion was carried without a division. After the bill had been twice read, and referred to a committee, a petition was received from a numerous body of individuals, the Americans resident in London, presented by Mr. Bull, the lord mayor. The petitioners deprecated the hard and unconstitutional application of punishments to their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, whose case was unheard, unpleaded, before the assembly which condemned them, and differed, in this point, essentially from the precedents of the cities stated in the minister's speech. They professed attachment to the parent country, in their own and their countrymen's names; but declared, that such in-

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justice on the part of government was calculated to extinguish those feelings of attachment, however strong and sincere. An attempt was made, in this address, to criminate Governor Hutchison, for neglecting the full exercise of his executive authority. A fine upon the town of Boston was proposed, after hearing this deputation, by a member of parliament, as the best compromise between lenity to the offenders and justice to ourselves. To this the minister replied, that none but coercive operations would do; for now is the time, said Lord North, to persist, to defy them, to proceed without fear. Of his lordship's supporters the most able and distinguished, on this occasion, were, Gascoyne, Montagu, Stanley, Ward, Jenkinson, and General Conway. On the third reading, Charles Fox appeared, for the first time, in his great career of politics, on the side of opposition. He declared against confiding in the crown that power which ought ever to reside in parliament,—the right of restoring port privileges to Boston, in case satisfaction for her outrages was afforded. 'If a right be given to his majesty, to refuse (should he think proper) the reinstatement of the harbour of Boston, what limit is to be drawn when it may be proper, right, and just, that the port of Boston should be reinstated? It depends wholly on the king, that is, on his ministers. This would establish a precedent of delivering over whole towns and communities to an arbitrary discretion in the crown.' A violent upholder of British supremacy exclaimed, in the heat of this debate, that the people of Boston deserved to have their town '*knocked about their ears and destroyed.*' The generous spirit of Colonel Barré was roused to answer this illiberal language: at the same time, he expressed his general approbation of the bill, and considered a compensation due

to Britain for her insulted authority. It is remarkable, that in this discussion the more moderate members of opposition objected only to particular parts of the act, and even upon those parts did not divide, either unwilling to shew a disagreement among themselves, or, as their own language declared, to prevent the measure from having the utmost effect that its friends could promise themselves from it, in securing the obedience of America. The bill passed the house on the 25th of March, and was carried up to the lords, where it was likewise warmly debated, though, as in the commons, without proceeding to a division. It received the royal assent on the 31st of the same month.

Unhappily, the disposition to carry every thing to extremities with America was become very general, and it soon appeared that the Boston port-bill was only part of an extensive plan of coercion for reducing the colonies to obedience. A bill was brought in for the better regulation of government in the province of Massachussets-bay, and to alter the constitution of that province, as it stood upon the charter of King William, removing the whole executive power out of the hands of the democratic part, and vesting the nomination of counsellors, judges, and all kinds of magistrates, including sheriffs, in the king, in some cases even in the king's governor, all to be removable at the will of the crown. The opposition rose with considerably more vigour in resisting this resolution than the last. All their strength, however, was not put forth upon its first suggestion. On that occasion, Lord George Germaine highly approving of its general tendency, hinted the necessity of extending its force to the better regulation of juries, which, in America, quite different from those of England, were either chosen for life, with sala-

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ries, if grand juries; or, if petty juries, elected annually from each town. Lord North expressed a high approbation of the good sense by which such amendments were dictated, and promised to reserve them for consideration. He accordingly presented the bill after the Easter recess, very considerably altered from its original outline. Mr. Dowdeswell, Governor Pownall, Sir George Saville, and several other patriotic members, united to oppose it, at the second reading, in all its parts and principles. To rob a people of their chartered constitution, unheard by counsel, untried by regular evidence, upon the loose allegations of any number of men, appeared to them a worse violation of English, and of natural, liberty, than the much complained of proceedings against the same corporations, which had formed the blackest era of the arbitrary reigns of Charles and James II. The American juries, they said, needed no amelioration: witness their impartial defiance of all popular clamours and prejudices, in acquitting Captain Preston, as soon as his innocence appeared. Our colonial disorders lay much deeper than in the forms of government, and required a tranquillizing remedy, instead of such an aggravation as the present oppressive act.

Another effort was made, by the Americans residing in London, while the bill was yet undecided, to obtain a mitigation of its rigours; and their petition was allowed to lie upon the table. Although individuals were thus allowed to prefer their sentiments, it was found impossible to obtain a hearing, for any body in a collective capacity. Mr. Bollan, agent for the Massachussets-bay council, applied for this purpose; but the house refused to receive the petition, by a large majority. On the third debate, to the eloquence of Dunning, Burke, and Colonel Barré, was added the weight of Mr. Fox's opposi-

tion, at the same time certain members usually in opposition, thought proper to side with ministry, in the conviction that as matters were now come to a crisis with America, it was the duty of Englishmen to err upon the safe side of a dubious question, and by all means to uphold the authority of government unimpaired. The bill passed, after a debate of many hours. Equally warm discussions attended its progress through the house of lords, where it passed in nine days after, on a division of 92 to 20. Encouraged by these appearances of irresistible success, the minister moved for leave to bring in a bill for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachussets-bay, in New England. He acknowledged, in his apology for his proposal, that in inforcing the acts already past, for quieting America, it was probable blood would be shed; and in assisting the magistrates, or king's officers, to subdue insurrection, how could a loyal citizen be safe, if tried before the judges of that very place, whose inhabitants denied the supremacy of the mother-country! Such an act, he said, was not without precedent: where smuggling was found to be notoriously encouraged in one county, the trial had been directed to another. The rebels of Scotland, in the year 1746, were tried in England. The minister informed the house, that General Gage had been sent out as governor and commander in chief to Boston, where four regiments, the usual force for all America, had been solely sent. The ringleaders of sedition were to be seized and punished, and firm, though legal, steps pursued for a speedy termination of the troubles in that department. Minority alleged, that no existing troubles among the Americans justified the

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taking away of their natural rights, or the providing an indemnity, for all the murders and outrages that might be committed by military authority. If a man committed crimes in America, let him there be heard, tried, condemned, or acquitted. Was there danger of innocence suffering from the violence of party-feeling in American judges? There was equal danger of guilt escaping unpunished, by prejudices in favour of severity, in the bosoms of judges at home; for in all party quarrels, animosity was apt to be equal and reciprocal. And how could the relatives of a murdered citizen of America hope for justice, by prosecution at a bar so many thousand miles removed? Was the distance between England and Scotland, in the case of the Scottish rebels, to be measured with the breadth of the Atlantic ocean, or the case of a few smugglers, to be put upon a footing with the rights of a flourishing colony? The most baneful effects were anticipated by the supporters of these arguments, as likely to result from thus dealing with America. Assassinations among individuals; insurrection, bloodshed, and revolution, among the whole. No strength or numbers being likely to overwhelm a nation of freemen like ourselves, invincible in their claims to liberty, every idea of dragooning them into submission should be laid aside; justice should be done to them; otherwise that mightiest limb of our empire was likely to be torn from the body politic. A reputable member of opposition ended his speech with these remarkable words:—'I will now take my leave of the whole plan; you will commence your ruin from this day; I am sorry that not only the house has fallen into this error, but that the people approve of the measure: the people, I am sorry to say it, are misled. But a short time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it

is this.' The bill passed the commons, on the 6th of May, and being carried up to the house of peers, occasioned warm debates, on the same principles upon which it was encountered in the lower house. The wisdom and eloquence of Chatham were in vain exerted to arrest its progress: that venerable statesman had been for two years past prevented from appearing in his usual station, the front of independent opposition, by debility of body, which, by a natural sympathy, seemed to have clouded for a while the brightness of his mental powers. On the third reading of the bill he addressed the house, and took a large and general view of American affairs. After commenting, with a due and dignified respect, on the character of those Englishmen, who had gone in quest of independence, to the unexplored regions of the western world, he shewed the absurdity of applying illiberal maxims of severity to their posterity, men so independent by place, by habit, and by hereditary feelings. 'Shall we wonder, my lords,' said he, 'if the descendants of characters so illustrious, spurn with contempt the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear bought privileges, as they have now to contend for? Had the British colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery and the spirit of despotism; but, as they are, they ought to be remembered, as memorable instances to instruct the world what great exertions mankind will naturally make when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers. The mode' (continued his lordship) 'which has been pursued to bring them back to their duty, has been so diametrically opposite to the fundamental principles of sound policy, that individuals possessed of common understanding must be astonished at such proceedings. By blocking up the harbour of Bos-

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ton, you have involved the innocent trader in the same punishment with the guilty profligates who destroyed your merchandize, and, instead of making a well concerted effort to secure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguisher over their harbour, and punish, for the crimes of a few, the whole body of the inhabitants.'

Another debate on American affairs intervened between the discussion of those two important acts, for shutting up the port of Boston, and altering the government of the colony of Massachussets-bay. On the 19th of April, a project of reconciliation was started, by an old and respectable member of the house of commons, Mr. Rose Fuller, who proposed, with this benevolent intention, the repeal of the duty on tea. All the arguments against our right to tax America were advanced, as in previous debates, to enforce the principle of the bill. The small amount of the tea tax, and the impolicy of tampering with an irritated country, in its present disposition, were alleged, to impeach the credit of the tax in question, and the reputation of its framers and supporters. Mr. Burke drew, at great length, a retrospective view of the policy of Britain towards America, and took an opportunity, on this occasion, of at once exercising the whole powers of his eloquence, in exposing the measures of ministry, and of setting forth, in detail, his political creed, with regard to American taxation. He abjured all practical idea of imposing taxes on the colonies, in such circumstances, or any thing like such circumstances, as those in which we stood. He followed the history of Mr. Grenville's act through all the changes of ministry, in which it shewed its head or disappeared. The declaratory act he was obliged, as a partizan of Lord Rockingham's, to defend. He defended it by instituting a very ingenious distinc-

tion, of two capacities, in which he represented the parliament of Britain as presiding over her subjects. In one capacity, she sat as the immediate legislature of the island; in the other, she sat in an imperial, and seemingly nobler, character, superintending inferior legislatures, and guiding and controuling all. In this latter and sovereign sense, he affirmed, that in cases that called for the empire to be saved, by every part contributing its share, then, when so imperious a necessity demanded, could our colonies be taxed by the will of the parent? But then this ought to be no ordinary power, and never exercised in the first instance. This, said the orator, is what I meant, when I have said, at various times, that I consider the power of taxing in parliament as an instrument of empire, and not as a means of supply.

The season was now advanced, and many members, fatigued with American affairs, had retreated into the country, when a bill was brought into the house of lords, to make more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America. It passed through the upper house with no great difficulty, although encountered by Lord Chatham with his usual power. The principal objects of the Quebec bill were,—to ascertain the limits of that province, which were extended far beyond what had been settled by the king's proclamation of 1763; to form a legislative council for regulating all its affairs, excepting taxation; a council that was to be appointed by the crown, during his majesty's pleasure, and of which Canadian Roman catholic subjects were entitled to be members; and to establish the French laws, and a trial without jury, in civil cases, and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal; lastly, it secured to the Roman catholic clergy, with the exception of the

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regulars, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and of their tithes, from all who were of their own religion; but this article was accompanied by a clause, that the king should not be disabled from making such provision as he should think fit for the protestant clergy.

The bill was warmly opposed in the commons. The unusual season at which so important a measure was introduced, and the despotic tendency it bore, were the general complaints against it. Arguments of a more specific nature were also urged against its several provisions. The articles affecting the establishment of the Romish religion seemed to be principally obnoxious to the nation. Against them the city of London successively petitioned the commons and his majesty, but without effect. The session was soon after closed, by a speech from the throne, which expressly commended the bill, and equally approved of the steps recently adopted towards the state of Massachussets.

The ferment that had been once raised in that remote province had continued with little interruption. Articles of impeachment having been drawn up by the assembly against the chief judge, for receiving a salary from the crown, Governor Hutchison found it necessary to dissolve that legislature, as the only means of avoiding contention on a point with regard to which he was resolved not to yield. The arrival of General Gage, who was appointed to succeed the recalled governor, excited some hopes of reconcilement, but hopes of short duration, the Boston port-bill being brought over nearly at the same time. Surprise, consternation, and rage, instantly pervaded the minds of the inhabitants. A town meeting was convened, in which the injustice, impolicy, and inhumanity, of the act were loudly arraigned, and the salvation

of North America, and her liberties, asserted to depend on the immediate cessation of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Nor did this spirit confine its influence to the immediate agents of the measure. Throughout the colonies the cause of Boston was espoused as their own: the vengeance denounced against that city was considered as a presage of what awaited every part of the colonies which should dare to resist any invasion of its rights and privileges, vainly secured by charters that were no longer sacred. Fasts were generally appointed for the day on which the act was to commence its operation: subscriptions were formed for the Bostonians, and strong assurances pledged of an efficacious support; and, in order to unite the efforts of the continent, and to concentrate the force of the national will, a congress, to be composed of delegates from the several states, was loudly called for; and it was ultimately appointed to be held in the ensuing September.

Intelligence of these favourable dispositions in the other colonies reached Massachussets in the interval of an adjournment, which the new governor had thought it prudent to appoint, hoping that the first tumult of popular resentment would soon subside. On the meeting of the assembly, the 7th of June, it evinced only a more determined opposition. Five members were chosen delegates to congress. £500 were voted for their expences; and a dissolution being apprehended, it authoritatively recommended to the people, to abstain from the consumption of tea, and other British imports. Before this resolution was wholly drawn up, an officer arrived from the governor, to dissolve the assembly; but the doors were locked against him; and their proceedings were brought

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to a conclusion, under the appearance of legal forms.

1774. It is not surprising, that, in this temper of the public mind, the town of Salem, now become the seat of government and commerce, should have felt insensible of a boon thus violently transferred. In a pathetic and respectful address to Gage, the people of Salem expressed their sympathy for the sufferings of Boston, and 'deprecated the thought of acquiring wealth, and raising its fortunes, on the ruin of its neighbours.'

Under this troubled aspect of affairs, some of the principal inhabitants of that capital, though unsuccessful in their attempts to dissolve the committees of correspondence, through which the utmost activity was continually exerted in stimulating the people, still indulged hopes of an accommodation. These efforts, however, became wholly desperate, when the bills creating a new charter, altering the judicature, and quartering soldiers in the country, came to add fresh fuel to the public resentment. Copies were distributed, with unremitting industry, throughout the continent; and the solemn league and covenant, instituted by the committee at Boston, was rapidly embraced by the different colonies. By this engagement, all commercial intercourse with Britain was suspended, as well as all consumption of its commodities discontinued, till the acts should be repealed. Offenders were to have their names published, as enemies to their country, and to be cut off from all social communication.

The views of the British legislature were equally counteracted in the immediate execution of the acts themselves. In the new council, one third of the appointed members refused to accept the office, and terror soon drove many of the remainder to resign. Juries refused to be sworn under the

new constitution of the courts, the officers of which, in requesting their forgiveness for issuing the summons, declared, though they should obtain it, they never could forgive themselves. CHAP. IX. 1774.

For the alleged purpose of preventing desertion among the soldiers, whom various arts were practised to seduce, General Gage had placed a guard on the narrow neck of land which unites Boston with the country. This proceeding, in the inflamed state of the public mind, was construed an expedient to starve the inhabitants into submission; and when the growing spirit of hostility had induced the governor to fortify that position, to disarm the militia, and to seize upon military stores, wheresoever concealed, the most violent alarms were excited. These seem to have extended to the highest classes, the company of cadets, formed chiefly from the principal families, disbanding themselves at this period, and giving back their standard.

It was at this juncture that the delegates of the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the capital, convened a meeting. With perfect unanimity, they agreed to resolutions of a bolder nature than any that had yet been adopted. The late acts of parliament were branded with opprobrium: the duty of resistance against oppression asserted, as compatible with true allegiance: support was promised to all who should incur penalties under the new constitution; and weekly training to arms was enjoined in the strongest terms. But the resolutions which evinced the most daring spirit, were those by which the collectors of the public taxes were directed to retain in their own hands the sums they had levied, till their former charter and privileges should be restored. A chain of communicating posts was established over all the state, through which the first attack of the military

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might be rapidly made known to the remotest parts of the continent. A remonstrance was finally addressed to Governor Gage, complaining of the fortifications at Boston-neck, the seizure of arms and stores, with other popular grievances. To this his excellency returned an answer, justifying his measures by his determined desire to maintain the peace of the country.

The 7th of October 1774 was fixed upon as the day on which the new council and assembly were to enter upon their functions. So numerous, however, were the resignations of members of the former body, that this, combined with the present aspect of affairs, prompted the governor to countermand, by proclamation, the writs issued for the election of representatives. No sort of attention was paid to this order: members were elected by the people, and they assembled at Salem. There, having waited some time in vain for the governor, they voted themselves into a provincial congress, to be holden in future at Concord, (as a place farthest removed from the seat of government), and they transmitted a remonstrance to Gage. The general, though aware of the illegality of their pretensions, felt a desire to vindicate his conduct, by replying in such a manner as should preclude all implication of his acknowledging their authority. Regardless of his reproving answer to their address, the meeting proceeded with their plans, which, in general, coincided with the various resolutions passed at the Suffolk assembly: it was conveyed in the form of a recommendation, but was calculated to insure all the effects of a law. A thanksgiving was also appointed, on account of the union so remarkably prevalent among the colonies; and a proclamation against this *seditious conduct* experienced the fate which uniformly at-

tended every public act of the governor,—universal disregard. CHAP. IX. 1774.

The meeting of Congress, 1774, was already known; and it is probable that, through the committees of correspondence, a sufficiently decisive anticipation of its proceedings had been generally diffused. On the 4th of September 1774, fifty-one delegates, from the different colonies, Georgia alone excepted, assembled at Philadelphia. The greater number carried instructions from their constituents, to make strong professions of loyalty to the sovereign, of affection and gratitude towards the mother country, and of a desire to remain united with, and constitutionally dependent upon, Great Britain. At the same time, they were uniform in decrying, as unconstitutional and oppressive, the late acts directed against Massachussets, and expressed a determination never to give up their rights and privileges. On all other points, the deputies were enjoined to acquiesce in the resolutions of the majority.[2] Agreeably to the purport of this important regulation, the name of each delegate was affixed to every act of congress; and the debates being carried on with a secrecy that secured existing differences of opinion from transpiring, each measure went abroad with the sanction of the whole united body.

The first meeting of this assembly, the most august that ever had met in the New World, produced a series of speeches and resolutions, exactly in the same spirit with the general appearance that has been described of the views and feelings prevalent in America. They declared, that all America was interested in the cause of their countrymen of Massachussets, and under an obligation to support them, should force be exerted. The re-

[2] In computing this, each state was accounted to have only one vote, which was decided by the majority of its delegates.

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solutions of the Suffolk meeting were also adverted to, in terms of commendation.

1774. A declaration of rights was soon after published by congress, deducing those rights from the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the British constitution, and the charters of the different colonies. It proceeded to enumerate their various grievances, among which the declaratory act was not omitted. Trial by their peers, and in their own vicinage, was insisted upon as an inherent right, flagrantly and dangerously violated by the act removing offenders to Britain. A standing army in peace was urged to be unconstitutional, without the consent of the states; and their right to petition jointly or individually was strongly asserted.

Circumstances precluding them from being represented in the British parliament, they inferred, that the management of internal polity, with taxation in general, belonged to their own legislatures, and that they were bound solely by commercial regulations, imposed, *bona fide*, for the interests of trade. As the means of obtaining redress, they concluded with proposing an agreement against importation, exportation, and consumption, with reference to Great Britain, denouncing the colony that should reject or violate this resolution as inimical to the liberties of the country, and precluding it from all intercourse with the rest. A congress was then appointed for the 10th of May following, should redress not be afforded within the intermediate period.

A petition to his majesty, a memorial to the people of Great Britain, an address to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec, were the principal declaratory proceedings of the delegates. In the petition, expressions of loyalty and affection are

blended with the forcible, yet respectful, language of complaint. 'To a sovereign who gloried in the name of Briton, the bare recital of their grievances must,' they allege, 'justify the loyal subjects who fled to the foot of his throne, and implored his clemency for protection. On those who interposed between him and them they call for his displeasure.' They assert, that ample provisions had ever been made by them for the administration of justice and government; that in time of peace the militia is adequate for security; while in war they would always, if constitutionally required, make strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising soldiers. The exercise of this right afforded them a pleasure equally honourable to his majesty and to themselves. In fine, they neither desired to limit his prerogative nor to add to their own rights.

The memorial to the people of Great Britain reminded them of the various struggles they had themselves maintained against the designs of arbitrary power, declaring, that the Americans only rivalled the spirit they had then displayed, and, indirectly taxing their present supineness, warned them, that the project to enslave America, would, if successful, terminate in their own subjugation. It recapitulated the important services rendered by the colonists in the different contests in which Britain had engaged, and concluded, with asserting their sole demand to be,—'the state in which they stood at the end of the last war.' In the address to the colonies, the congress detailed the several violations of their rights; and while they recommended pacific measures, as most eligible in the first instance, plainly exhorted them to be prepared for the most unhappy events. The address to the people of Canada was certainly the most artful, and least defensible, act of the assembly.

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The establishment of their religion had been dwelt upon by the Americans as a grievance. In one of their late declarations of rights, the Canadians were, by the same persons, told that they had been unjustly dealt with by the British parliament; and the rights of British subjects, and the opinions of the most celebrated foreign writers, were held out to them, to point out, by contrast, their degraded and precarious condition.

Even at this period, it is difficult to pronounce an impartial, at least, an unsuspected, opinion on the proceedings of the American congress; and happy it is for the historian, when he can record the sentiments of a Chatham on so important and critical a question. 'I have not words,' said this venerable statesman, in a letter to a friend, 'to express my satisfaction that the congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business with such manly wisdom and calm resolution as does the highest honour to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced man in England, who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse, as heretofore. I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject, and that it will be found impossible for freemen in England to wish to see 3,000,000 of Englishmen slaves in America.'

. . . . . .

The resolutions of congress were approved, with enthusiastic zeal, by a vast majority of the colonists: indecision seemed at an end from the moment they were published; and Europe saw, with astonishment, a commercial and luxurious people

submit to a total interruption of trade, and of the common enjoyments of life, rather than yield to a system they conceived fatal to their liberty. The state of New York alone refused an acquiescence in those resolutions, trusting, by a petition to the king and parliament, setting forth the grievances of the country, to effect, in the character of mediator, a permanent accommodation.

The people in general appear to have entertained sanguine hopes that the nature of their demands, as well as the unanimity of congress, would prevail with parliament. But their leaders, judging, from unequivocal experience, of the temper that actuated the British councils, augured less favourably of the result, and, anticipating an approaching contest, urged the necessity of training to military exercise the southern, as well as the northern, provinces. A royal proclamation, prohibiting the exportation of arms to America, justified their suspicions, and awakened those of their countrymen. The dread of meditated coercion diffused itself throughout the continent, and was quickly accompanied by a determined eagerness to frustrate the designs of authority. Encouragement was generally given to manufactories of all kinds of warlike stores; and as the minds of men grew daily more inflamed, violent expedients were called in to facilitate the desired object. At Rhode island, the stores of government were seized by the people; an example that was quickly followed by the people of New Hampshire, till lately, the least indisposed towards Britain. Thus forcibly did experience already demonstrate the futility of those predictions which the abettors of a system of terror had so confidently and so often made in both houses of parliament.

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Dissolution of parliament on the 30th of September, and convocation of a new one the following month.... Slender strength of opposition in the new parliament.... Silence of ministers on American affairs.... Meeting after the recess.... Lord Chatham's motion for measures of reconciliation with America.... Committee of the house formed for the consideration of American papers.... Petitions received from the mercantile bodies of London.... Messrs. Bollan, Franklin, and Lee, solicit audience before the house of commons, in favour of the petition from congress.... They are refused.... Another motion for settling the troubles in America introduced by Lord Chatham.... His motion rejected.... Resolution of parliament, declaring the colonies in a state of actual rebellion.... Rise in the number of opposition on this question.... Farther debates on American affairs.... Votes of supply of soldiers and seamen.... Lord North's motion, in February 1775, for restricting the trade of the northern colonies.... His sudden motion, on the 20th, for reconciliation with the colonies.... Danger of the minister's being abandoned by his former friends, in consequence of this motion.... Amending salvo of the attorney general extricates him from his embarrassment .... Resumption of the New England fishery bill.... Burke's motion, on the 20th of March, in behalf of America.

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THE dangerous aspect of affairs in America was but imperfectly discerned in Britain, and had not indeed assumed its most formidable phases, when parliament was unexpectedly dissolved, on the 30th September, and a new one convoked for the 29th of the ensuing month. Various reasons

concurred in urging ministers to appoint an interval so short, as, though not unprecedented, was at least unusual. Less opportunity was afforded to their opponents of canvassing at the elections; and the practice of proposing tests for the subscription of candidates, which had been already suggested in many places, was prevented from gaining ground. The period, also, of the dissolution was recommended by several considerations. The arrears of the civil list had rapidly accumulated, and seemed to require an immediate provision, always more readily obtained from newly elected members, than from men on the point of returning to their constituents. But what must chiefly have had weight with administration, it was visible that a crisis was fast approaching in the quarrel with the colonies. At present, the minds of the people at home were but little affected, even with the serious events that had transpired. Fatigued with dissensions that had grown familiar by long duration, interest and apprehensions seemed for a short space to be equally lulled. But should the storm, which, to the eye of the statesman, threatened the more formidably that its gathering was slow and progressive, suddenly burst, to the astonishment of the unsuspecting multitude, what might not be the fate of the subsequent elections? A new parliament was accordingly convened, on the 30th November, in which, though ministers sustained the loss of some of their partizans, they still retained a vast majority. In the speech from the throne, the daring spirit of resistance evinced by the state of Massachussets, and the illegal combinations among the colonies, to obstruct the commerce of the mother country, were strongly commented upon. Measures were announced to be in train for enforcing the acts so boldly resisted; and parliament was assured of an inflexible resolution

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to maintain obedience to its authority. An amendment to the address was moved in the commons, praying his majesty to lay before the house the whole intelligence received from America. It was contended, that the address implied an approbation of all past measures towards that country; and the new parliament was warned against a blind and precipitate sanction, involving it in the responsibility of the former. Lord North seemed to acknowledge that a reconciliation would be desirable, but insisted, at the same time, that the first overtures should come from America. As to the address, he represented it as a formality that bound up the conduct of no individual who should assent to it. The leading members in opposition seized the opportunity of illustrating how completely events had falsified the sanguine predictions of those who had introduced the obnoxious statutes. This amendment was, however, negatived by 264 against 73. In the house of lords, the address experienced a similar opposition, and with the same success, 13 only voting for the duke of Richmond's amendment, and 63 against it. The minority on this occasion felt themselves justified, by the imperious exigency of affairs, in recording their sentiments by a protest; a proceeding unusual in the case of an address. 'They wished to be known as persons who had ever disapproved of measures so pernicious in their past effects and their future tendency and who were not in haste, without inquiry or information, to commit themselves in declarations which might precipitate the country into all the calamities of a civil war.'

On the subsequent meetings of the house, a mysterious silence was observed by ministers with respect to America. By some, this was ascribed to the irresolution of the cabinet, by others, to serious differences of opinion, relative to the pro-

priety of coercive measures, to which the prime minister was supposed to be really adverse. Perhaps it might also be thought prudent to avoid exciting apprehensions in the mercantile body, and thus to prevent an opposition from being formed, before the arrival of farther intelligence from America might embolden ministers to declare the whole of their intended system. Certain it is, they betrayed, even to affectation, a confidence that peace would continue undisturbed. The land tax was voted as before: no vote of credit was asked; nay, 4,000 seamen were disbanded; a measure so flagrantly at variance with the speech from the throne, and the address which had re-echoed it, as could not fail to be animadverted upon by the members in opposition. CHAP X. 1774.

The house did not assemble after the recess till the 20th of January 1775. Before its meeting, the intentions of administration had ceased to be equivocal, and the merchants of London and Bristol had prepared to express their sense of the expected measures. Lord Chatham, who had long been struggling with the infirmities of a declining constitution, roused by the importance of the occasion, once more came forth in a cause which seemed to ingross the whole enthusiasm of his great mind. Lord Dartmouth having, by his majesty's command, laid on the table the papers belonging to his official department, the leader of opposition addressed the house in nearly these words:—'Too well apprized of the contents of the papers now at last laid before the house, I will not take up your lordships time in tedious and fruitless investigations, but seize the first moment to open the door of reconciliation; for every moment of delay is a moment of danger. As I have not the honour of access to his majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the constitu- 1775.

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tional channel of this house, my ideas of America; to rescue him from the misadvice of his present ministers. America, my lords, cannot be reconciled. She ought not to be reconciled to this country, till the troops of Britain are withdrawn from the continent. How can America trust you with the bayonet at her breast? How can she suppose that you mean less than bondage or death? I therefore, my lords, move, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his majesty,—" that, in order to open the way towards an happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, it may graciously please his majesty, to transmit orders to General Gage for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston."

In illustrating this proposal, his lordship inveighed against the conduct of ministers, and justified the general proceedings of the colonies. Justice, not indulgence, was what he asked for America: the obedience it owed to Britain was not implicit but limited; and resistance to the violent and impolitic acts adopted against it by the last parliament was necessary, as it was just. The imperious declarations of its omnipotence became absurd, from the inability to support them by force. To recal the troops, on the contrary, would have a conciliatory effect, and invite to proper submission by the equitable spirit it would evince: an end which no force could accomplish. 'And was the spirit of persecution never to be appeased. *Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna castigatq. auditque.* But our ministers say, the Americans must not be heard. They have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility has blocked up the town' (of Boston), 'and reduced to beggary and famine

30,000 inhabitants.' But ministers trusted the present union of the colonies would not last, because among a commercial people: but the real strength of a country resided in the cultivators of land; and of the spirit which animated them, his lordship gave this animated picture:—'you may destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniencies, of life; but they are prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have—what, my lords?—their woods and their liberty.'

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If illegal violence had been committed, universal proscription was not the remedy: a door should be opened through conciliation to satisfaction. The same spirit that in England opposed loans and benevolences now actuated the Americans. 'Let this distinction remain for ever ascertained: taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours: as an American, I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman, by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle, is the common cause of the whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this. It is liberty engaged to liberty, that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of heaven.

'When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that all my reading and observation—and history has

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been my favourite study,—all that I have read *in* Thucydides,—all that I have studied and admired in the master states of the world, of solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under the complication of difficult circumstances, exhibits no nation a body of men superior to the general congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall *be forced* ultimately *to retract*. Let us retract while we *can*, not when we *must*. I say we must necessarily undo these *violent oppressive acts: they must be repealed; you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not finally repealed.* Avoid then this humiliating disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and happiness; for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede, is obvious from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power: it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boston; by a repeal of your acts of parliament. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures. Foreign war hangs over your head by a slight and brittle thread. France and Spain watch your conduct, and wait for the maturity of your err-

ors, with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.'

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In replying to these arguments, ministers entered into a justification of the several statutes that had been passed against America, and contended, that the resolutions of congress against them breathed the spirit of independency, and meditated rebellion. They deprecated admitting nations of trade to guide the determination of the house. If these were once yielded to, they would involve continual and successive concessions: conciliation had been vainly tried: the supremacy of Britain was founded in justice; it was now called in question; by coercive measures alone could it be asserted; and the longer these were deferred, the less their efficacy. Every indulgence would be shewn to a compliant temper in the colonies, but the manifestation of it must precede the boon. It was answered by the lords in opposition, that prescription, not conciliation, had hitherto been tried. Passion, obstinacy, and ill will, under the direction of inability and ignorance, had been made the principles for governing a free people. Some, however, even of the minority members, entertained doubts as to the propriety of recalling the troops, although they condemned their having been sent at all; yet they would accede to the motion, on account of its conciliatory tendency. Eighteen peers only coincided with this opinion, among whom were the distinguished names of Cambden, Rockingham, Shelburne, and Richmond: 68 voted against the motion.

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The result of this first trial of strength emboldened ministers to proceed at once to the developement of their system. A committee of the whole house was appointed in the commons for the 26th January, to which the American papers were referred. In vain was it urged by a member, that

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these papers ought not to be submitted in their present garbled state; that reports of facts were extracted without the concomitant remarks of the governors; and that those remarks were peculiarly calculated to enlighten the decision of parliament, as they proceeded from men actually on the spot, and deterred by the awful posture of affairs from disguising their real sentiments. The danger arising from revealing those secret communications was considered a satisfactory plea for resisting the demand.

Petitions against the coercive system towards America were now presented from the mercantile bodies in London, and received without opposition. In order, however, to frustrate the object of the petitioners, a motion was unexpectedly made to refer them to a separate committee, designedly fixed for the 27th, the day following that on which the American papers were to be taken into consideration. Against this palpable artifice, opposition inveighed in terms of great severity: the insufficiency of the alleged plea, that the political and commercial merits of the question were essentially distinct, was clearly exposed; and to the assertion that an immediate decision was necessary, the inconsistency of having delayed more than a month, and of now straining at a single day, was objected with unanswerable force. The committee of oblivion[1] was, however, appointed.

A second petition being presented from the city of London on the 26th, gave rise to a repetition of nearly the same arguments as before. An important fact, however, transpired in the course of this discussion, which is well worthy of peculiar notice: Lord North, complaining of the whimsical and unaccountable resistance of the Americans to the importation of tea at an under price, took merit to

[1] So it was aptly nicknamed by Burke.

himself for having allowed a drawback of 9*d* in the pound weight to the East-India company. This undiscreet boast instigated one of the directors to unveil its fallacy. Far from desiring the drawback above stated, the company, he said, had even entreated the minister to limit it to 3*d*, on condition he at the same time repealed the duty of 3*d* imposed in America. A smaller subtraction had thus been made from the revenue of the country, while the pressing exigency of the company's affairs would have interposed to cloak at least the concession of Britain. Her honour would have been saved by this happy coincidence, and a fatal contest terminated for ever. On a division of the house, 250 against 89 refused to comply with the petition.

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On hearing of this determination of the house to cover an intended neglect, under a specious appearance of regard, the merchants of London, with becoming dignity, resolved not to resent the proceeding. They requested permission to wave appearing before the committee, declaring they had no apprehensions as to their debts from America, unless the means of remittance should be cut off by measures that might be adopted in Great Britain. This was a sarcastic allusion to a proposal that had been hinted at by their opposers, of securing to them the payment of sums due from America, by some parliamentary regulation.

A petition was now presented from the American agents, Messrs. Bollan, Franklin, and Lee, praying to be heard at the bar of the house, in favour of the petition from congress to the king, which his majesty had ordered to be laid before parliament. To this demand ministry objected, that they could not entertain the act of an illegal body. The members in opposition asked,—'what provincial assemblies still remained through whose

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organ the public voice may be heard? Granting the congress were not a legal body, it was surely legal enough for the purpose of petitioning.' Finally, they conjured the house to consider whether rejection must not provoke to open rebellion: 218 votes were opposed to 68 in their favour. Notwithstanding the failure of his late attempt to pave the way of reconcilement, by an immediate recal of the troops from Boston, Lord Chatham, pursuant to the intimation he had given on that occasion, now brought forward—'a provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain.' In introducing this measure to the house, his lordship did not pretend to have fully matured his ideas on the subject; but, impressed with the necessity of an immediate plan of accommodation, he communicated the result of his anxious, though 'too short meditations,' hoping it would receive from the collective wisdom of their lordships, that method and correction which might ensure success.

The bill began with a distinct and full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the legislature, and of the superintending power of the British parliament. Partly by way of grace, partly by way of compromise, taxation was allowed to reside in the provincial assemblies. The royal right was asserted, of sending any part of a legal army to any part of his majesty's dominions, under this qualification, that it could never be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people. The act then proceeded to legalize the congress appointed to meet in the ensuing May, in order that it might then consider the making a due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies. For the purpose also of its taking into con-

sideration a free grant of a certain revenue to the king, his heirs, or successors, subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the heavy burdens incurred by the mother country in part for the benefit of the colonies,—this grant was not represented as a condition of redress of grievances, but confidently expected to be made with suitable liberality. The admiralty courts were to be restricted to their ancient limits, the obnoxious statutes to be suspended, judges to be appointed as in England, and all the respective charters and constitutions of the colonies to be specially secured.

Such is a general outline of the bill that was now submitted to the house, not in the hope of gaining its immediate approbation, but of ultimately engaging it to the adoption of its leading principles. Lord Dartmouth, with becoming candour, stated, that from the vast extent of its provisions, he could not at once decide upon its merits, but would not object to its lying on their lordships table; a courtesy seldom refused by the peers to the mover of any important measure; but Lord Sandwich and the other members of administration could not brook this proposal: they arraigned the bill as irregular from the multitude of its objects; the sanction it gave to the holding of a congress they utterly deprecated; and they conceived it as a decisive objection, that it spoke the language of conciliation in the midst of rebellion. Lord Shelburne particularly animadverted upon these arguments of the ministry, and drew a lively picture of the fatal consequences that must ensue, should an inflexible adherence to coercive measures precipitate a war with the colonies. Many who did not coincide with the ideas of Lord Chatham, were indignant that a plan, submitted under his great authority, should experience the insult of immediate rejec-

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tion. The noble peer himself could not but strongly feel the indignity thus offered, and gave vent to his feelings in terms which the occasion alone could justify. He inveighed against the conduct of administration:—'America,' said he, 'is declared in a state of actual rebellion, and we are now advanced to the first of February, and no one step is taken to crush this supposed rebellion. Eleven days have elapsed since my late motion, and nothing has been offered by the king's servants. Under such circumstances of emergency on one side, when perhaps a single day may determine the fate of this great empire, and such a shameful negligence, total inattention, and want of ability on the other, what was to be done? no other alternative, in my opinion, remained, but either to abandon the interests of my country, and relinquish my duty, or to propose some plan, when ministry, by their inaction and silence, owned themselves incapable of proposing one. But even now, let them speak out, and tell me that they have a plan to lay before us, and I will give them an example of candour they are by no means deserving of, by instantly withdrawing the present bill.' His lordship then charged them as guilty of a conduct that had been one continued series of weakness, temerity, and despotism, and negligence: one merit only, he allowed them, a strict attention to their own interests. To these the measure he proposed would be fatal, and he concluded with these emphatic words: 'such then being your precarious situations, who can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance for which God and nature designed you.'

These expressions drew a vehement retort from

Lord Gower, against which, it must be confessed, the character of the noble earl afforded a more than sufficient shield. The motion, however, for the bill to lie on the table, was rejected by 61 to 32.

So decisive a triumph over the great advocate of conciliatory measures, insured to ministers the easy adoption of their coercive system. On the next day, accordingly, after having consigned to the committee of oblivion, a petition from the planters of the sugar colonies residing in Great Britain, Lord North recapitulated, in a long speech, the most important facts contained in the American papers: he drew a distinct view of the conduct of each colony, of the burdens borne by the people in England, compared with those sustained by the Americans,[2] of the legislative supremacy of parliament, and of the confederacy formed to resist it. On this ground were the two countries at issue, and Britain must either renounce for ever, or firmly assert its just pretensions. With this view, he would move for an address to the king, and for a conference with the lords, that it might be the joint address of both houses. To enable the house to form a complete judgement of his plans, he intimated, that a greater force was intended to be sent to America, and a temporary stop opposed to the foreign trade of the colonies, particularly to the fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Whenever, at the same time, they should return to their obedience, and make a due submission to the king, their real grievances would, on proper application, be redressed. His motion then was for an address to his majesty,—'to return thanks for the communication of the American papers, and to declare, that his faithful commons, having taken them into

[2] These his lordship stated to be in the proportion of 50 to 1.

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most serious consideration, find, that a part of his majesty's subjects in the province of the Massachussets-bay, have proceeded so far as to resist the authority of the supreme legislature, *and that a rebellion at this time* actually exists within the said province; that they see, with the utmost concern, that they have been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations, and engagements entered into in several of the other colonies, to the injury and oppression of many of their innocent fellow subjects resident within the kingdom of Great Britain, and the rest of his majesty's dominions: that this conduct appears the more inexcusable, when they consider with *how much temper* his majesty and the two houses of parliament have acted in support of the laws and constitution of Great Britain.' The address concluded with expressing a determination to maintain the sovereign authority unimpaired, promising a ready attention to every real grievance constitutionally laid before the house, but beseeching his majesty to take the most effectual measures for enforcing due obedience, engaging, at the hazard of life and property, to stand by him against all rebellious attempts.

In the debate that ensued, the acuteness of Dunning was exerted to prove that the Americans were not in rebellion. The major part of opposition were satisfied with maintaining the impolicy of declaring them to be in that state, as narrowing the chances of future accommodation. To single out the state of Massachussets, was represented to be deluding the country, with the belief that it had only one colony to encounter. The experience of last year proved, that the cause of that state was espoused by all the rest, and the same might be anticipated as the certain consequence of the present proceeding: a general war or a general reconciliation; these were the only alternatives in this momentous crisis.

The friends of administration argued, on the other side, that many had suffered for treason in England, to whom acts much inferior in enormity than those recently committed at Boston were charged. The address they considered an act of mercy, that would quickly detach the innocent from the guilty, the union of the colonies being unable to withstand the shock of a system of vigour, founded, as that union was already, on principles of self-denial too severe for human nature to uphold: besides, the character of the Americans was marked by pusillanimity, instances of which were minutely given by some modern Thraso's, to the great amusement of the house. An amendment to the original motion was moved by Mr. Fox, which, leaving out all but the preliminary words, substituted the following:—'But deploring, that the information which these papers have afforded, served only to convince the house that the measures taken by his majesty's servants tended rather to widen than to heal the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America, praying, therefore, an alteration in the same.' This amendment was rejected by a considerable majority, though the opposition was more numerous than on any former occasion, amounting to 106 against 304.

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The failure of this attempt did not discourage opposition. Alarmed at a measure that tended to bring to an immediate crisis the future connection of Britain with its colonies, they resolved to make one effort more to avert so desperate an extremity. Accordingly, Lord John Cavendish, on the motion being made, that the house do now receive the report of address, moved that that address be recommitted. So momentous a decision could not, he argued, undergo too minute a discussion: to him it appeared fraught with the most serious mischief. What effect might not be expected from declaring

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a part of our dominions in actual rebellion? The Americans it would urge to the most desperate expedients; and our great rivals on the continent, stung as they still were by their humiliation in the last war, would they not eagerly improve the opportunity of a civil contest, to wrest back the laurels we had purchased with so much blood. His head and his heart joined in deprecating the horrors of internal discord, drawing inevitably in its train a formidable combination against us of powerful rival states: and what was the alternative before us? Should the war prove unsuccessful, revenue exhausted, trade annihilated, our empire shaken to its foundation: such were the evils in prospect. Suppose our exertions successful, what should we gain? we might subdue America, America already our own to all wise intents and purposes, and much more profitably so, than it could be in virtue of any conquest.

The members of administration, while they admitted the extreme peril of the moment, contended that the legislative power of Britain was unquestionable; it extended universally, and could not be limited by charters, nor lost by disuse: the interests of commerce might no doubt be promoted by leniency and conciliation, but no effort of this nature had been left untried: the Americans were ungrateful and refractory; tenderness they construed into timidity; and to the proof we had already given of that pacific temper, might be traced the present fatal extremities. Independence had long been their secret aim, and pretexts were all they waited for to declare it. The language used by congress, and in their assemblies, supported this assertion. 'Our business and our duty as Englishmen should prompt us to arrest the design in its outset; regardless of consequences, we ought to encounter a pressing danger like men, and not,

from a mean temporizing spirit, shift the hazard from ourselves to posterity.' Apprehensions of foreign war were pronounced imaginary: the interest of every state would forbid it to countenance a rebellion of colonies against their mother-country; nor was it reasonable to expect a serious resistance from the colonies themselves. A small number of troops would put a speedy and bloodless end to the present dissensions, in which a great number of the people were nowise concerned. CHAP. X. 1775.

The friends of the motion stigmatized the address as cruel and impolitic: the acts construed as rebellious, were manifestly the effervescence of passion: instead of giving it time to abate, the very step was taken which was most calculated to increase the ferment. As to the desire of independence, charged upon the Americans, when did it appear, (and facts must be the basis of such a charge), till the late intemperate measures pursued by ministers? before that period the Americans had given pledges of their attachment: they had fought and bled by the side of Britain; the journals of the house bore a like witness to the justice of parliament, and to the liberality of America. But they asserted their right to tax themselves,—were this a prejudice, and not a well founded opinion, it was deeply rooted, it was universal; this alone entitled it to the respect of every wise government. But had not the Americans been long nursed in those ideas, and had not parliament till lately, by its outward conduct at least, acquiesced in their justice? When the stamp-act was repealed, did not two of the first men in the kingdom deny the right of parliament to tax America? Both had subsequently been raised to the highest offices under the crown. Sanctioned as they were by such authorities, was it to be wondered that the Americans were tenacious of their pretensions. Violent measures, however, were pro-

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posed, resistance was inevitable; and though America should be reduced by conquest, it would be recovered, impoverished, and ruined. A military force must be continually maintained; and if it was imagined, the powers of Europe would sit quiet spectators of such a scene, an instance of folly, was expected not to be paralleled in history.

These arguments, on which experience has since stamped the seal of approbation, while it has held forth to posterity the enlightened sagacity of the men, who, with such prophetic precision, anticipated her judgement, had to encounter prejudices, and a bigotry too obstinate to be overcome. Though the numbers of the ministerial phalanx were somewhat reduced on the division, those of opposition were not augmented. On the motion of Lord Dartmouth, that the blanks in the address, thus finally carried, should be filled up, to make it the joint address of both houses of parliament, a debate equally vehement, though perhaps less argumentative, ensued among the peers. The consideration of the mercantile petitions was postponed, as in the lower house. Whether the Americans were already in a state of rebellion, was learnedly argued between the chief-justice and Lord Camden; the opinion of which last, upholding the negative of the question, drew down the severe animadversions of the duke of Grafton and Lord Littleton. The house was thrown into astonishment by a declaration of Lord Mansfield, that he had ever condemned the stamp act; and that astonishment was still farther raised, when Lord Shelburne and the duke of Grafton, who had both held principal stations in the cabinet, under whose sanction it had been passed, successively affirmed it had never had their approbation. General as was the persuasion, that a system of secret influence controuled the ostensible ministers

of the crown, so flagrant a proof of it, in a measure most momentous in its consequences, did not the less confound and alarm their lordships. The motion was at length agreed to by a majority of 104 against 28. CHAP. X. 1775.

Two protests were, however, entered on the journals of the house, couched in terms of pointed severity. The perverse aversion of ministers to conciliatory measures; the injustice and impolicy of a declaration of war, founded on partial statements; a deaf ear opposed to every petition; the defects of an address that held out to the colonies no substantial offer of redress, and which promised support to ministers, who had inflamed the general mind of America, and grossly misconducted affairs at home; such were the principal topics enlarged upon by the protesting peers.

An answer was returned by the crown, in the true spirit of the address, which was soon after followed by a message, proposing an augmentation of the forces. Instead of the vote that might naturally have been expected, the minister contented himself with moving for an addition of 2,000 seamen, and 4,383 soldiers; intimating, at the same time, that 10,000 men were intended for Boston. This conduct was arraigned by opposition as a mode of inveigling the country, by small demands, into an ultimate concession of the means really adequate to carry on the war, and also directly fatal to the object of ministers themselves, who since determined on a system of coercion, ought to aim at its fullest benefit, by appearing from the first with such a fleet and army as should at once preclude every idea of resistance from the minds of the Americans. In pursuance of the plan he had developed in a former speech, Lord North proceeded to move for a bill, restraining the trade Feb. 10.

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of the New-England colonies[1] with all parts of the British dominions, and prohibiting them from the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland for a limited time. While this expedient of starving the colonists into submission was still under discussion, the minister suddenly came forward, on the 20th of February, to submit to the house a plan of conciliating America. He proposed, that whenever the council, or assembly, of any colony, should vote an adequate provision for its internal establishment, and its quota in the general defence,—the money to be levied under its authority, but at the disposal of parliament,—'it would then be proper to forbear continuing or imposing any duties, except such as are for the purpose of commercial regulation.' It thus appeared, that refined and metaphysical as the distinction taken by the Americans, on the subject of taxes, had been pronounced, it could enter into the comprehension of the minister, when found subservient to his designs. If the very words of the motion had not plainly pointed out its insufficiency to opposition, the circumstances attending its discussion must have convinced them, that nothing was less in the minds of administration than cordial conciliatory views. The mere sound of conciliation, coupled with that of America, roused the indignation of the party distinguished by the name of the king's friends; and Lord North saw himself threatened with a storm, whose fury he dreaded, while he knew not how to escape it. In this hour of peril, he was extricated by the presence of mind, and dexterous subtlity, of the solicitor-general. That able politician soon persuaded the refractory host, that concession to America was far indeed from being the object of the motion. The Americans were, no

[1] Including Massachussets-bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode island, and Providence plantation.

doubt, to vote the taxes; but who was to judge of their adequacy?—the parliament of Britain. It only withheld the uplifted hand of its authority, till it should ascertain whether, without its interference, the same object might not be secured. The minister escaped on this plank of salvation; and opposition voted with scarcely more than its usual numbers.

The New-England fishery bill was now resumed with increased activity. On the one side, it was reprobated as essentially unjust, by its indiscriminate proscription of friends and foes; impolitic, as tending to impoverish, if not to ruin, our own colonies; finally, as not likely to gain its end, experience having already exposed the vain calculations of the friends of coercion. By the other party, it was justified on principles of retaliation, and on the ground of an over-ruling necessity. Even humanity, it was asserted, did not revolt at a measure which proposed to reclaim deluded individuals, by mere restraints on their commerce; and many testimonies were brought forward to prove there was no danger of a famine being eventually occasioned in America. Some gentlemen, in the ardour of their zeal, even lamented there was no chance of such a consequence, approving the speediest coercion as the best. The arguments of opposition were strongly corroborated by the facts set forth in a petition, presented by the American traders. The position of the northern colonies was there shewn to be peculiarly favourable for the Newfoundland fishery, the immense profits actually derived from which, sooner or latter, found their way into the British dominions. One million was asserted to be due to London only from New-England. Britain thus would herself suffer by the ruin of the trade, while *that* ruin, instead of affecting the refractory colonists, would

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wholly fall upon innocent fishermen, persons hitherto entirely unconnected with politics, but who, by absolute beggary, would now be driven into rebellion.

The lords Rockingham and Camden exerted their joint efforts in a vigorous opposition to the bill, when brought up to the lords, and in supporting the petition of the American traders. To counteract the weight of the latter, two men from Pool, and two sea-officers, were examined; and, on their depositions, the fact was considered (by ministers) as established, that England herself was adequate to the whole Newfoundland trade. On this ground, besides that of the arguments urged in the commons, the bill was finally passed by a great majority.[2] In the protest, signed on this occasion by several of the dissentient peers, among other animadversions, the following was most pointed. 'The involving in one common ruin of the innocent with the guilty, argues, if from choice, the unworthiness of administration,—if from ignorance of other means, their utter incapacity.' The indecency also of holding out the spoils of the Newfoundland fishery, as a lure to the British nation, did not escape its due share of censure.

The peers, in their zeal to outstrip the commons in measures of coercion, had added a clause to the act, including, within its operation, the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. This clause was, on a conference with the lower house, withdrawn on

[2] Lord Sandwich fatally betrayed, in this debate, the absurd and chimerical visions of his colleagues, with reference to the spirit of the Americans. 'Suppose the colonies to abound in men; of what importance is the fact? they are raw, undisciplined, and *cowardly*. I *wish*, instead of 40,000 or 50,000 of these brave fellows, they would produce at least 200,000: *the more the better*; the easier would be the conquest: if they did not run away, they would starve themselves into compliance with our measures.'

grounds of informality; but its purport was soon supplied by a bill, introduced by Lord North, expressly for that purpose. Opposition declined reiterating objections that had already been heard and resisted.

While the bill was passing through its several stages, evidence was adduced in behalf of the petition, some time before presented by the West-India planters and merchants.[3] In a clear and able exposition, their agent, Mr. Glover, informed the house, that a capital of 60 millions was invested in those islands, one half of which amount belonged to persons in Britain; that their exports, in a late average year, had risen to four millions; to which, from recent experience, considerable additions might with confidence be annually expected. He concluded, by urging, that ruin or famine must befal these colonies, in the event of a war with America, whence they derived almost every necessary; and warned the house to pause before it endangered a trade from which was drawn, in direct revenue, the annual sum of £700,000. The conciliatory propositions of the minister had been decried by opposition as equally inefficient and illusory;—charges which, instead of a refutation, had drawn forth the usual cant of ministerial partizans, that there was a strong disposition to the easy task of censure, but none to the more difficult, yet imperious, office of enlightening by specific advice. The propositions submitted to the house by Mr. Burke, on the 22d of March, perhaps, in consequence of these insinuations, served at once to manifest their injustice, and unfortunately, at the same time, to demonstrate the futility of such attempts on the part of an opposition, no less than the insidious and uncandid views with which they

[3] In the beginning of February.

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were tauntingly provoked. That distinguished orator, in a speech particularly marked by profoundness of knowledge and comprehensive views, developed to ministers a plan, which, if it could not have saved America, would (experience most fully justifies the assertion), have reflected at least upon the cause of the colonies, in the eyes of Britons, in the eyes of Europe, and in the eyes of the Americans themselves, a very different complexion from that which it bore under the fatal system that finally prevailed. From a full investigation of the resources, population, and spirit, of our continental subjects, and an accurate attention to the sources of their actual state, Mr. Burke drew a decided inference, that every government, not adapted to the general feelings of that people, must be ineffectual. At considerable length, he expatiated upon a great political maxim, which cannot indeed be too often or too fully inculcated, since, though its truth be attested by the concurring evidence of every age, its principle has, it is lamentable to observe, been almost as invariably violated. 'The idea of force,' said the orator, 'easy and plausible in theory, and requiring no skill nor ability in the design, or comprehension, the gross of mankind are fond of recurring to it in all cases which perplex their understanding.' He proceeded to expose its imperfections as a system,—that it was only temporary in its effects, uncertain, and destructive of the very object it had in view to secure: finally, he appealed to our experience with the colonies, as an irrefragable proof, that, among them at least it was destitute of every probability of success. By admitting them to an interest in our constitution, and solemnly recording that admission in the journals of parliament, by this, and by this alone, was it to be hoped that such a people could be effectually conciliated. He did not ask,

whether they were entitled to exact it; it was not as a lawyer, but as a politician, he argued,—not what the parliament *might*, but what it *ought*, to do. He then illustrated his position by the examples of Ireland, of Wales, of Durham, and Chester, shewing, that, even in periods when liberty was but ill understood, the justice had been felt of admitting fellow subjects to a participation of our rights and privileges. The case of Ireland was particularly apposite, as, from similarity of local circumstances, it sanctioned the specific pretensions of America to an independent legislature.

His propositions accordingly recognized taxation to be vested in the provincial assemblies only,—declared and enacted their legal competency to provide for the expences both of peace and war; acknowledging that competency to have been beneficially exercised, while experience had proved the futility of parliamentary impositions. These resolutions were followed by others for securing the independence of the judicature, restraining the admiralty-courts, and for repealing the late oppressive acts against America. A plan, so directly hostile to every idea of coercion, was too strongly at variance with the feelings and principles of the present ministry not to meet their opposition. They represented it as an insidious mode of undermining every pretension which parliament had avowed over the continent of America, and an indirect sanction of every proceeding of the latter. This, if it could be called an objection, the honourable mover would have conceded to them with all the degree of force it might justly claim. He did not disguise his unequivocal disapprobation of every measure parliament had adopted to assert its supremacy, nor his opinion, that to its injudicious efforts were chiefly imputable all the disorders that had happened in America. But his opponents

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farther urged, that even from the humiliating concessions he proposed, they did not anticipate a favourable result. If conciliatory measures were his object, the house had latterly acceded to resolutions of that tendency, more compatible with its dignity; while the present proposal, it might be conjectured from its close resemblance to Lord Chatham's bill, would infallibly be rejected by the peers. Taxation was asserted to be a right so inseparably vested in parliament, as to be incommunicable by its own act. Transported by these lofty notions of its dignity, and catching a sudden enthusiasm, they quoted in support of their doctrine the famous bill of rights, which declares, in one of its articles, that levying money by *pretence of prerogative*, without grant of parliament, is illegal. In war it might happen, that the grant of a provincial assembly would be accepted: this was only justified by necessity; but that minister was branded as deserving of impeachment, who should accept of such a grant in time of peace. Ireland even, it was hazarded by a bold partizan of ministry, might be taxed in Britain.

The leaders of opposition enforced the arguments already advanced by Mr. Burke, restating many others that had been urged on former occasions; and, in reply to the new positions of the ministerial party, they exposed the absurdity and palpable perversion of resting any of them upon the article of the bill of rights. That bill, it was universally known, had been pointedly and exclusively directed against illegal exertions of the prerogative in England, where the people had representatives, who alone were entitled to dispose of their property. At the very period of its enactment, grants were in course of being levied in Ireland, without any authority from the English parliament; yet no one ever dreamed that this was an infraction of

the bill of rights. The distinction, attempted to be taken between grants in time of peace and war, was ridiculed as assumed for convenience, but wholly unfounded on any principle: and administration was adjured to renounce abstract theories of the lenity and incommunicability of taxational power, to consult the important results of experience, and agreeably to these to frame its system. These arguments, however, proved unavailing; and 276 voted against the propositions, which were supported by 78 only. Unmoved by so decisive a failure, Mr. Hartley proposed, on the 27th of the same month, a new plan of conciliation. Its outlines bore a still closer resemblance to the provisions of Lord Chatham's bill: it was rejected without a division.

It was now manifest, if, indeed, it had not before been sufficiently discoverable, that ministers were determinedly bent on coercive measures, which, with an infatuation not unfrequently illustrated in history, they pursued, not merely with sanguine expectations, but with a confidence almost excluding the bare idea of possible reverses. This was strikingly evidenced in a debate that took place in the house of lords on the 5th of April. Lord Effingham declared, in a neat and forcible speech, his aversion to the system adopted towards America, which had driven him to the painful necessity of relinquishing a profession he loved, lest, in the course of military duty, he should be compelled to become an instrument in the hands of administration; for a civil war he pronounced an inevitable consequence. This prediction of his lordship was generally treated as chimerical: the pusillanimity of the Americans was again brought forward; and it was asserted they never would dare to contend with Gage, at the head of a military force. Petitions were now pre-

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sented to both houses, deprecating the approaching crisis with America. Some also were introduced, in which the measures of administration were approved, though it was vehemently complained of by the opposite party, with what degree of justice it is difficult to determine, that undue means had been exerted to procure them. Whatever may have been the prevailing sentiment in other parts of the country, that of the city of London, at least, was unequivocal, and was expressed, in terms of unusual boldness, in an address, remonstrance, and petition, adopted by the livery, under the auspices of Wilkes, now elevated to the station of lord mayor. It was formally presented to his majesty on the throne, by a deputation as numerous as were allowed admittance. The various grievances of America, and the fatal measures pursued towards that country, formed its preamble. But the petitioners looked with more horror, they said, at the purpose of these measures, than at their pernicious tendency itself. 'Not deceived by the specious artifice of calling despotism dignity, they plainly perceived, that the real purpose was to establish arbitrary power over all America.' The resistance of that people they justified on the same revolution principles which seated his majesty's family on the throne. They ascribed the measures that had been adopted to secret advisers,—'enemies alike to his majesty's title and to the liberties of his people.' The whole concluded with earnest entreaties for the immediate dismission of such pernicious counsellors. The displeasure excited by this address was conveyed in the following answer from the throne:—'It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire

confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms.' His majesty refused, from that time, to receive any petition, on the throne, from the livery of London.

On the 27th of April, Lord North moved for a committee of the house, to take into consideration the encouraging of the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland. The minister thus tacitly acknowledged, that the evidence of the two merchants from Poole, and of the two sea officers, well as it might serve the purpose of contradicting the statement of the American traders, was not so far to be relied upon as to influence the measures of administration. Without bounties to encourage adventures, he perceived the trade was not likely to be pursued. These, accordingly, he proposed to allow to the ships of both countries proceeding to Newfoundland. The extension of this encouragement to Ireland was dictated by very natural policy. A revolt so general among the colonies alarmed the councils of Britain for the security of their authority in every other quarter, and induced them to prevent, by seeming generosity, the existence of such a disposition in the sister island. As if desirous to surprise its inhabitants by peculiar favours, the minister made two additional concessions to Ireland. It was permitted to furnish the regiments on its establishment with clothing when abroad; and a bounty of *5s.* per barrel was allowed on the importation of flax seed into any of its ports.

It has before been noticed, that of all the colonies on the American continent, New York alone had declined subscribing the resolutions of con-

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gress, trusting, by an energetic, but inoffensive, statement of grievances, to obtain a more certain redress for its fellow states. The declaration, drawn up with this view, under the title of—'the Representation and remonstrance of the general assembly of New York,' was presented to the commons by Mr. Burke, on the 15th of May 1775, who moved it should lie on their table. This motion was indirectly defeated by an amendment of the minister,—'that the said representation lays down claims inconsistent with the legislative authority of parliament, as declared by statute,' &c. Lord North, at the same time, did ample justice to the greater moderation evinced by the state of New York, whose refusal to join in the proceedings of congress he highly commended; but as it called in question the taxational power of parliament, the house, he alleged, was precluded from receiving a paper containing such an attack upon its rights. Opposition, on the other hand, replied, that the most happy opportunity was now afforded, which, if suffered to pass unimproved, would involve irretrievable consequences. In the midst of general revolt, New York still preserves her legal assembly, declines adopting resolutions sanctioned by all the rest of America. In deference to Britain, she has incurred the suspicions, perhaps the ill will, of her sister colonies; and you will not even *hear* her complaints. Who now shall be tempted to pay obedience to so ungenerous a superior: incur universal odium: for what? for the privilege of suffering your disdain. The last bond of confirmation will be added to the union of the other colonies; and New York, indignant at the effects of her past submission, will seek with eagerness to cancel the impression, by a zeal for independence, that shall outstrip that of her newly adopted

friends. These arguments were resisted by a great majority of the house; and an attempt, in the lords, to present a memorial from the same general assembly, proved equally abortive.[1]

Such were the last debates on the subject of America that occurred in the present session. Previous to its close, the late Quebec act again engaged the attention of both houses; and a very animated discussion took place, in the lords, on the motion of Lord Camden, in the commons, on that of Sir George Saville, proposing an immediate and total repeal. Petitions had arrived from the British settlers in Canada, complaining, in strong terms, that they were bereaved of their native rights, though living in the British dominions; and not long after it appeared, that the French themselves, with the exception of a few nobles, and of the higher clergy, were equally adverse to a bill that had been enacted professedly with a view to gratify their wishes, as being the majority of the population. Notwithstanding these facts, and the very able speeches of Lord Camden and Sir George Saville, the peers and commons equally rejected the proposed alteration.[2] It was remarked, in the course of his speech on this occasion, that Lord North purposed to arm the Canadians, if necessary, against the other colonies. On the 26th of May, a speech from the throne terminated the session. The most perfect satisfaction was expressed throughout, with regard to the various proceedings of parliament. Its firmness and resolution, in asserting the rights of the crown and its own authority, were duly extolled, as well as its attention to promote the commercial interests

[1] The commons divided; for the amendment 186, against it 67. In the lords, 25 voted with opposition, 45 against them.

[2] There were in the lords, for the repeal 28, against it 88; in the commons, for it 86, against 174.

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of Britain. A ready disposition was announced to gratify the Americans, by means compatible with the constitution, while the most salutary effects were anticipated from the measures adopted by parliament. In conclusion, assurances were given of the pacific views of the different powers on the continent.

Thus closed one of the most eventful sessions of a British legislature.

When the spirit of resistance had burst forth with considerable violence in Massachussets, in consequence of the bills intended as a punishment for its refractory opposition to the tea duties,—when a congress, representing almost all the colonies of America, had declared in favour of the contumacious province,—a crisis could not be avoided. It became necessary either to retract the obnoxious measures, or violently to enforce their execution. For the latter ministers decided. Parliament, they affirmed, enjoyed the supreme power of taxation over every member of the empire. In the exercise of this right, it had met with violent resistance. Its dignity was committed, and forbade the slightest retractation. The moderation, also, with which it had exercised that right, and which, nevertheless, was followed by so strenuous and seditious an opposition, proved, that a refractory and rebellious spirit secretly lurked among the Americans, which not a moment should be lost in repressing. Force was the only expedient recommended, alike to uphold the respect due to authority, and timely to crush the seeds of disaffection. Ministers declared their confident expectation, that, on sending out 10,000 men to Boston, not only the inhabitants would be overawed and deterred from a future perseverance in their contumacy, but that the whole of America would instantly return to obedience. The people were

naturally pusillanimous, and would instantly lay aside the assumed air of courage, when they saw Great Britain at length display a becoming attitude of decision and vigour. It was scarcely to be apprehended that a single drop of blood would be shed on the occasion. Such were the views which Lords Gower, Sandwich, and North, with other members of the cabinet, held out to the parliament of Britain, to induce it to adopt a system of coercion against America. CHAP. X. 1775.

Lords Chatham and Camden, on the other hand, maintained, that the dignity of the house was more essentially implicated by a system that enforced unjust pretensions, than by an instant dereliction of such pretensions, if ever, in an unguarded hour, advanced. The pervading principle of the British constitution, they asserted to be, that the people can only be taxed by their representatives. America was neither *really* nor *virtually* represented in the British parliament. Burke, and the other members of the Rockingham party, without pointedly denying the right of parliament, affirmed, that the colonists, at least, were unanimous in resisting its exercise, and urged, that the most despotic governments had never been blind to the policy, if not, more properly, the necessity, of bending before the will of a whole people, though misguided and erroneous. Both parties in opposition concurred in asserting, that the resistance of the Americans was not to the amount of the sums levied under the duties imposed by parliament, but to the principle of being taxed at all, by the British legislature. Once they had submitted to an imposition, however slight, of this nature, a precedent would be established for the most oppressive burdens, from the same authority. And that this was secretly the real aim of the minister, had they not abundant grounds for

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suspecting? He had allowed a drawback, in England, of 9*d.* per pound on tea, to impose a duty of 3*d.* to be levied in America; thus reducing, by two thirds, the legitimate revenue of Britain, at a time when he declared, that its necessities called for a contribution from the colonies. This contribution they were disposed cheerfully to grant, provided by an act of their own assemblies: but this offer was rejected. He pertinaciously adhered to the tea duty, because (there could be no other reason) he was anxious to establish a precedent, which all the regard they had for property must prompt them to resist.

From coercive measures, the members of opposition predicted a result directly the reverse of what ministers anticipated. By singling out Boston as the first victim, all America would be more powerfully interested to defend it, in a contest so unequal. What had experience already proved? When the Boston bills were passed, then, too, the nation had been told, that this partial severity would produce an universal change. What was the fact? One general sentiment of compassion first, next of indignation, had united the whole of America against Britain. Was it reasonable to anticipate a different result in the present instance? The Americans, it was alleged, were pusillanimous. Our own history, the last war particularly, refuted the charge. Descended from ancestors who had resisted tyranny, they inherited the spirit of freedom: their institutions were all calculated to rear and confirm it. Measures which they had opposed from principle, would only become the more odious, and the more certainly encounter their resistance, that force was employed to secure their execution. In short, parliament and the country were warned, by opposition, to expect a civil war, as the certain consequence of

coercion;—a war that would probably involve us with our inveterate enemies on the continent, and terminate in a disgraceful failure, or if, by a most extraordinary turn of events, crowned with success, would recover colonies exhausted in men and resources, and for ever alienated, in their affections, from the British government. CHAP. X. 1775.

In our last survey of the American continent, we beheld the people raised to a high degree of ferment and agitation. This feverish state had continued almost unabated, except from the temporary influence of anxious doubts and hopes, relative to the reception which the petition of congress would experience in Britain. But no sooner did the speech delivered from the throne at the opening of the session, with the addresses returned by considerable majorities from both houses of parliament, reach the colonies, than indignation and fury burst forth universally, with a violence no longer to be controuled. Government, it was by all considered, had trod down the olive of peace, and was resolved to rule with a rod of iron; a design which every heart and hand united in the attempt to frustrate.

A new provincial congress assembling at Cambridge, in Massachussets, on the 1st of February 1775, informed the people, they had now reason to believe that ministers were bent upon their destruction. They exhorted, therefore, in the most earnest manner, the militia, and particularly the minute men, to spare no time in improving themselves, by military exercises, with a view to the approaching crisis. Heightened as were the effects already produced on the public mind by this declaration, extremities, it is evident, could not long be deferred; and an expedition that was, perhaps unnecessarily, ordered to Salem, by General Gage, on the 26th of the same month, clearly

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demonstrated, that a provocation was only awaited, by the Bostonians, for open resistance to the measures of government. Quarrels between the soldiers and the inhabitants were unavoidably frequent. On the 19th of April, the standard of civil war was at length unfurled.

Though deceived in his expectations of finding military stores at Salem, the governor was well informed, that a depôt of this kind was formed at Concord. Resolving to secure its possession, he dispatched, in the night of the 19th, Colonel Smith, with a detachment of 900 regulars, upon that service. They proceeded undiscovered in their progress till five o'clock in the morning of the following day, when, arriving at Lexington, they perceived a company of militia, drawn up on the green, in the act of exercise. Major Pitcairn, at the head of the advanced guard, having called out to them,—'rebels, throw down your arms, and disperse;' an order with which they did not comply, they were fired upon by the troops, and several were, in consequence, killed and wounded.[3]

This proved the signal of general insurrection. Throughout the country, the people flew to arms, and lined the hedges and passes from which the troops might be most annoyed by their fire. Ha-

[3] It was long disputed, whether the fire had not first proceeded from the Americans themselves; and that it did, has been maintained by very recent authorities. The point is certainly immaterial. To every judicious observer it must be manifest, that the war was virtually begun, not by the hostilities at Lexington, but by the proceedings adopted in the last session of parliament. However, the reflections of a contemporary writer, on this point, appear, if not irresistible, recommended, at least, by strong plausibility. It was observable, says he, that in every fray with the Americans, they were warily punctilious to wait for provocation; and in this instance (as he justly remarks), it is scarcely conceivable, that when a single company of militia were marked out, by a greatly superior force, as hostages for the consequences, that any one of their townsmen would have rashly hazarded to provoke so unequal a contest.

passed in this manner, these at length reached Concord, where they found but a small part of the stores originally deposited. A partial engagement took place, near that town, between a body of the provincials and a detachment of our light infantry, which terminated rather to the disadvantage of the latter. When Colonel Smith, having accomplished the object of his expedition, proceeded on his return, he found that he would have to encounter increasing difficulties. During the whole march to Lexington, his soldiers were incessantly exposed to irregular attacks; and had not Lord Percy, with a force nearly equal to that originally sent, seasonably joined him, at this critical moment, it is doubtful whether the whole detachment must not have fallen by the enemy, or surrendered as prisoners. Even with this reinforcement, and though now defended by artillery, the troops were assailed, in their retreat, in every favourable spot, and were forced, at length, to abridge their route, by embarking for Boston.

Two hundred and seventy-three men were numbered among the killed and wounded on the side of the regular forces, while the total loss of the provincials scarcely exceeded sixty.

How signally did this first encounter between the troops and the Americans correspond to the pusillanimity so openly and repeatedly charged upon the latter by Lords Sandwich and Gower, and other individuals, by whom the councils of Britain were, however, at this time, exclusively directed?

Nearly 70,000 men now assembled in arms from different parts of the province, and completely invested the town of Boston. Straitened, in consequence, for provisions, and dreading secret intrigues, the governor thought proper to enter into an agreement with the inhabitants, on

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the 21st of April, permitting them to depart, with their families and effects, on condition of a previous surrender of their arms. Unfortunately, Gage deemed himself justified, by circumstances, in afterwards violating this compact, and refused passports to many suspected of disaffection, who had already complied with the terms required.

Roused by the affair of Lexington, the provincial assembly was convened. An address was drawn up to the inhabitants of Great Britain, complaining of the hostilities, commenced, as they said, without provocation; professing real loyalty, but declaring, that they held tyranny in abhorrence, and that, in a just cause, they were prepared and resolved to die or be free. They proceeded to appoint pay to the provincial troops, and passed a vote for the issue of paper money in security, for which the faith of the province was pledged. Having given directions for a new
May 5. election of representatives, to assemble for six months only, in the end of May, they came to the resolution,—'that General Gage had utterly disqualified himself for the functions of governor, and for every other public capacity: that no farther obedience was, therefore, due to him, but that he was in future to be considered an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country.'

The spirit of hostility did not less gain ground in the other colonies, where several of the governors began to be alarmed even for their personal safety, and were ultimately obliged to abdicate their functions by flight. The conciliating propositions of Lord North experienced the fate predicted by opposition. In no provincial assembly were they accepted; by some they were peremptorily rejected, by others they were threatened with a similar fate, being referred to the consideration of the general congress.

That assembly again met on the 10th of May 1715. The circular letters of the colonial secretary in February, forbidding the several colonies to elect new members, had only served to shew, by the neglect with which they were universally treated, how little the Americans were disposed to regard a British mandate. Even in New-York, then ignorant of the reception that might attend its pacific overtures to parliament, deputies had been elected by the people. CHAP. X. 1775.

Participating in the general sentiment of their constituents, the congress framed a plan for raising a national army; to maintain which, as well as to defray the other contingencies of the state, they voted a large paper currency, the credit of which was to be sustained by the United colonies; a name now first adopted to designate the American states. They prohibited all supplies to the British fisheries in Newfoundland, to retaliate upon Britain for the fishery bills; and so decisive was the blow they thereby directed against the trade, that the greater number of British ships were forced to return home unladen, from a total want of necessaries. Apprized of the approach to New-York of the British troops, that were intended for the subjugation of Massachussets, they advised the inhabitants not to oppose an ineffectual resistance, but by retiring from the place to expose the troops to every inconvenience. In consequence of this exhortation, that commercial city was almost entirely deserted. A provincial congress was elected by the people. The general congress next declared the compact dissolved between the crown and the people of Massachussets, by the violation of the charter obtained from William and Mary. They accordingly recommended to that people to elect a governor, assistants, and a house of assembly, as in the original terms of their charter. Nearly May 25. June 8.

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at the same time they passed resolutions, with a view of obstructing supplies both of provisions and money to the British army, created a post-office, and appointed Franklin its director,—deeming themselves already justified, by the undisguised hostility of the British government, in exercising supreme authority over the colonies, who had elected them to guard their liberties. One of these acts of sovereignty, which subsequent events have peculiarly marked for its discrimination, and almost prophetic wisdom, was the unanimous appointment of George Washington to the station of commander in chief. This illustrious patriot was now in the 44th year of his age, and was already known to his countrymen, not less by his many private virtues, than by the military and diplomatic prowess he had evinced in the course of the seven years war. Nobly declining pecuniary remuneration at the present crisis, he left it to the generosity of his country afterwards to appreciate the debt it might have incurred,—a conduct which drew from congress an immediate resolution,—'that they would maintain, assist, and adhere to him, with their lives and fortunes, in the cause of American liberty.' Having modestly expressed a distrust of his talents, and of the narrow experience he had yet had in military affairs, requesting the utmost indulgence of his constituents, he proceeded to visit the various camps throughout the country; and was everywhere received with joyous acclamations. Ward, Putnam, Schuyler, Montgomery, Lee, and Gates, were nearly at the same time, or shortly after, invested with subordinate commands. The two last were Englishmen by birth.

June 14.

Since the affair of Lexington, Boston had continued in a state of blockade; and the arrival of the troops from Britain had not induced the provincials to retire from their positions. Im-

patient, perhaps, of being thus cooped up, or possibly in order more fully to ground a justification for immediate hostilities, General Gage issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all persons instantly laying down their arms, and denouncing as rebels and traitors such as should refuse compliance. Martial law was at the same time established, until order and tranquillity should be generally restored. From the benefit of the amnesty thus proffered, the governor expressly excepted John Hancock and Samuel Adams, the former of whom had lately been elected president of the American congress. CHAP. X. 1775. June 12.

It is probable, that while this proclamation exasperated the people of Massachussets, it taught them also to expect an immediate attack from the troops, for which they accordingly began preparing themselves, by a step singularly bold.

Almost immediately above Charlestown rises Bunkers hill; steep in its ascent, and so far elevated as to command also the town of Boston, which is separated from Charlestown by a river, nearly as broad as the Thames between London and Southwark. It is remarkable, that so advantageous a post should have hitherto remained unoccupied by either side. The provincials first perceived and retrieved the error. At nine o'clock in the evening of the 16th, a detachment of their forces silently moved forward to Bunkers hill from Cambridge; and arriving undiscovered at its summit, raised there, in the course of a short night, a formidable intrenchment. Being discovered early in the morning, by the Lively sloop of war, a violent cannonade was opened upon them, as well from that vessel as from the battery at Boston; in the midst of which they proceeded, undismayed in their labours, with a steadiness and intrepidity that could not have been surpassed by experienced June 16.

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veterans. An attack was immediately resolved upon by a council of war; and generals Howe and Pigot were appointed, with 2,000 men, to storm the redoubt and dislodge the Americans. Dividing their forces, after having landed without opposition on the extremity of Charlestown peninsula, which is nearest to Boston, Howe, with the right, led on the light infantry against the left of the enemy, that lined an entrenchment extending from the redoubt on Bunkers hill to the sea, while Pigot advanced with the left to the attack of the redoubt. In moving forwards with this view, the latter was severely annoyed by the firing of some Americans in Charlestown, in consequence of which that flourishing place was reduced to ashes, by carcases thrown, it is supposed, from Boston battery. Under cover of a formidable artillery, the British army now approached, unresisted and unmolested, till within a few hundred yards of the American lines. Then, first, a tremendous firing was opened upon them, with such rapidity and effect, that the troops were thrown into the utmost disorder. The Americans here displayed a dexterity as marksmen, which proved fatal to many of our most valuable officers. General Howe remained for some moments on the field without a man standing near him. At this critical juncture, General Clinton, who had volunteered his services, on perceiving, from Boston, the doubtful fate of the day, arrived with a reinforcement, and rallying the broken forces, led them on in a charge, which drove the Americans precipitately from their entrenchments. The redoubt was also carried; and the British were left complete masters of the field. No pursuit was ordered; but in retreating by Charlestown neck, the Americans were enfiladed by a sloop of war; and here, it is said, they sustained their greatest loss.

Rarely has victory been more dearly purchased than that obtained at Bunkers hill; nearly one half of the whole detachment fell; 226 were killed, and 828 wounded, 19 commissioned officers being included in the former, and 70 in the latter. The provincials, on the other hand, computed their whole loss at 449, in killed and wounded. The American patriot, Dr. Warren, who fell within the redoubt, was the loss they most regretted, as a man not only eminently qualified for the field, but particularly endeared to them by the purity and enthusiasm of his public spirit. CHAP. X. 1775.

What admits of little or no exculpation, is the total inactivity of the British arms after so bloody a contest. As if the mere possession of Bunkers hill, and the trifling extension of quarters it afforded, had been the whole object for which 10,000 men were sent from England, no farther operations were undertaken, and the Americans were permitted quietly to throw up entrenchments on a hill immediately opposite to that from which they had been driven, whence, without molestation, they were enabled to cut off all supplies by land to Boston. The consequent necessities of the army, which occasioned prevalent diseases, gave rise to an irregular predatory warfare, uncertain in its produce, and calculated more to irritate than overawe the disaffected.

On the 6th of July, the congress of America published its declaration,—'setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms.' The conduct and views of the British government were boldly arraigned, and particularly the recent proceedings of parliament, not, however, without discriminating and excepting from this censure the members of opposition. A part of the colonies, it was said, now felt, and all were sure of feeling, whatever vengeance the power of administration could in-

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flict upon them. Resistance by force, or unconditional submission to tyranny, was the sole alternative before them. The former was their choice. They had counted the cost of the contest, and found nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. At the same time, they distinctly abjured foreign assistance, (while they declared that it was undoubtedly attainable), and every intention to dissolve the union with the mother country. Their arms were not raised with this ambitious design; they fought for neither glory nor conquest. But their mother country, boasting of her privileges and civilization, proffered no milder conditions than servitude or death. 'In our native land,' they concluded, 'in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which was ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We will lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.'

This manifesto was read by Washington to his troops, and was received with enthusiastic bursts of approbation.

Probably in consequence of the favourable dispositions manifested by the city of London,[1] and by the inhabitants of other commercial places, congress addressed themselves again to the people of Great Britain, urging every topic that could interest their pride or their sympathy. They de-

[1] 'The populace in that city evinced, in the course of this summer, still stronger symptoms of their aversion to the coercive measures of goverment. When, on the 23d of August, a proclamation was publicly read at the exchange against the rebellion in America, it was received with, and almost totally interrupted by, continual groans and hisses.'

nied aspiring at independency; but declared they would only treat on such terms as would render accommodation lasting. They called God to witness, that they would part with their property, endanger their lives, and sacrifice every thing but liberty to redeem Great Britain from ruin. An address was, for the first time, drawn up to the people of Ireland, deprecating the evils which their trade must sustain from the non-consumption and importation agreement, but pleading an over-ruling necessity, and declaring their amicable dispositions. Finally, a second petition was addressed to his majesty, which will more properly deserve attention at an after period. Congress now formally took into consideration the conciliatory propositions of Lord North, and accompanied their rejection of them with the reasons by which that refusal was dictated. They pronounced their principle unreasonable;—'for,' said they, 'we are not left to guess even the terms we submit to by accepting these propositions. If we say we agree to them, we are then at the mercy of the British parliament for the *quantum* that may satisfy its expectations. A *conditional* assent is not permitted. But the overture is insidious, (this, indeed, the minister had himself most incautiously betrayed, when he justified it openly, under the maxim, '*Divide et impera*;') the least obnoxious colonies will be first admitted on moderate terms, and thus restored to peace with the mother country, while those reserved for its vengeance will be continually sent back with increasing demands, till, having bid to the last, and being driven to desperation, they must encounter, insulated and unaided, the whole force of Britain.' Lastly, congress declared those propositions a deception upon the world, as if the mode of taxation was solely complained of by America, and not the principle of being made di-

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rectly subservient to the revenues of Britain, at the will and discretion of the British parliament.

In the course of its sittings, in order fully to establish a regular army, congress deliberated upon, and finally settled, the pay that should be allowed to its forces. This was fixed at a rate considerably higher than the pay of the British military.

To exhibit events in a more connected form, attention has not yet been directed to the military operations that were early undertaken this year by the Americans, against the British possessions in Canada.

Soon after the battle of Lexington, Colonel Arnold was authorized by the assembly of Massachussets, to raise a force of 400 men, for the express purpose of surprising Ticonderoga and Crown Point, two forts commanding the entrance of Canada, on the side that borders upon Lake Champlain. Proceeding in this expedition, they found the design had been anticipated by some persons in Connecticut, who, having raised 270 men of a hardy race, called green-mountain boys, with the public money, and chosen a bold partizan, Ethan Allen, for their leader, were already on their march. Joining his numbers to theirs, Arnold

May 10. consented to act under their commander; and finding the fortresses almost unprotected on their arrival, the Americans obtained an easy conquest. The principal advantage of this capture consisted in the military stores that were so seasonably procured by the invaders.

Whatever might be the secret feelings of congress on hearing of this intelligence, publicly, at least, they disavowed the enterprize as a national affair, and represented it as merely a private and spirited adventure. An inventory of the stores was taken by their order, with the alleged view of a

complete restitution on the first return of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so ardently desired by the latter. From very natural motives, they addressed themselves to the people of Canada; and, in terms still stronger than before, lamented their degraded condition. Without exhorting them directly to throw off the yoke, they sought to conciliate at least their neutrality, and to secure against their attacking their recent acquisitions. 1775. May 26.

General Carleton, who at this time commanded in Canada, had not in the whole province a greater force than 800 regulars. Receiving instructions from England, along with 20,000 stand of arms, that were thence dispatched to him, he endeavoured to rouse the inhabitants to come forward to receive them. Finding entreaties unavailing, he had recourse to the establishment of martial law throughout the province; and, even July. with this strong measure, he could only obtain their consent to defend their country, but not to outstep its limits. In short, it was incontrovertibly demonstrated on this occasion, how truly obnoxious the Quebec bill had been to the great majority of the population, and how totally false the allegations were on which it was passed, that Frenchmen were naturally more desirous to live under their own despotic institutions, than to enjoy the freedom of the British constitution.

Congress had, doubtless, long before been apprized of the intention of arming the Canadians against them. We have seen, that in an early part of May the minister openly proclaimed it; and before this official declaration, the report had been confidently entertained. Nevertheless, when, on the 13th of June, Arnold, elated with his recent successes, proposed to that body a plan for reducing the whole of Canada with 2,000 men,

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they were unwilling to pronounce in favour of its adoption.

Now, however, that the design of the British government was clearly unveiled, and a general acting under its authority openly invoked the people of Canada to carry war into the colonies, they felt themselves justified, equally by justice and policy, in thwarting the attempt, by anticipating their opponents.

General Montgomery, an officer of distinguished ability, and General Schuyler, with 3,000 men, were accordingly appointed for this expedition, on which they set out in the beginning of September. Taking possession of isle aux Noix, on lake Champlain, they next attacked St. Johns, the first British post in Canada, 115 miles north of Ticonderoga.

Sept. 10. They were repulsed in this attempt, but soon returned to invest it in a regular manner. A want of heavy artillery retarded their progress; but this deficiency was seasonably supplied by the ample stores found in Chamblee, a fort five miles distant from the other, which unaccountably surrendered

Nov. 3. after a resistance of only 15 days. Thus critically relieved, (for the Americans had now expended all their ammunition), they soon reduced St. Johns to extremities; and General Carleton, deeming it prudent, in consequence, to evacuate Montreal, Montgomery soon after entered that city, refusing from its helpless state to hear of terms of capitulation, but promising to the inhabitants the free enjoyment of their religion and property. While he was here engaged in preparations for the siege of Quebec, that place had narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his enterprizing countryman Arnold. With singular boldness of conception, this officer, on hearing the invasion of Canada was resolved upon by congress, proposed to penetrate into its interior, through a country which had

hitherto been deemed impassable; and, in order to carry his design into execution, he solicited and obtained from General Washington a force of 1,500 men. With these he commenced his journey, on the 20th of September, working up a river[2] rapid and interspersed with rocks and shoals, that often rendered the boats an incumbrance upon his followers. The humane treatment they experienced from the people, whom they conciliatetd, both by a manifesto published at the suggestion of Washington, and by their own exemplary conduct, soon, however, recruited their nearly exhausted strength, and enabled them to take the field. But 500 men now constituted the whole army: to this number had they been reduced, partly by desertion, partly by the necessity of abandoning, in the course of their progress, the many that were severely pressed by sickness and disease. Had Arnold now possessed immediate means of crossing the river St. Lawrence, Quebec might have fallen an easy prey during its consternation, at the unexpected appearance of such an enemy. Fortunately, Colonel Maclean, (a distinguished loyalist), who had raised a body of Scottish emigrants, received intimation of his arrival, and repaired privately with a detachment to the relief of the capital. The designs of Arnold were frustrated. So vigorous was the repulse attending an attack he made upon the gates of St. Louis, that he retreated with his men to the distance of 20 miles, establishing his quarters at Point aux Trembles. Here, on the 1st of December, he was joined by General Montgomery, who now marched with this united body to undertake the siege of Quebec.

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Nov. 14.

Dec. 1.

Having summoned in vain the garrison to surrender, a bombardment and cannonade commenced

[2] The Kennebec.

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against the place, from a battery, which, by a novelty in the history of war, was formed of solid mounds of ice. The feeble artillery of the Americans, however, consisting of five smalls mortars and six guns, scarcely made an impression upon the town. Meanwhile the besieging army more and more suffered from the severe inclemency of the season, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions. The Canadians no longer testified their former eagerness. Insubordination and discontent often manifested themselves among troops not yet accustomed to the yoke of discipline. These complicated necessities urged Montgomery to the desperate resolution of attempting to storm the city. With this view, he formed his army into two divisions; and with 900 men directed his attack on one side, while Arnold was ordered to lead 700 on the opposite quarter. Two feints had been designed to divert the attention of the besiegers from the real post of danger. But so imperfectly were they executed, that they only betrayed what they were intended to conceal. Montgomery was suffered to advance with his men, by a narrow path, to within 50 yards of his adversaries, who then received him with a discharge of grapeshot, that swept away both himself and a considerable part of his division. Disheartened, but not deterred, by his fate, the remainder renewed their attempts; but repelled on all sides, they were at last obliged to retreat. By this decisive success, the victorious party were enabled to transfer themselves to the other point of attack, where they arrived at a most critical juncture. Though Arnold had been forced to retire by a wound he received early in the action, his followers pursued the assault with unabated vigour: two barriers had yielded to their impetuosity, and a third was on the point of being carried, and of opening to them the entrance into Quebec, when this sudden reinforcement disconcerted their aim,

and, debarring their retreat, compelled them to surrender prisoners. CHAP. X. 1775.

Nearly one half of the Americans were killed, wounded, or taken; but a loss far less repairable they sustained by the death of Montgomery. The amiable virtues of Montgomery seemed to have exclusively formed him for scenes of peace and tranquillity. But a mind endowed with strong sensibility, could not look with indifference on the subjugation of his countrymen. Transported with patriotic ardour, he was foremost among those who took up arms in the cause of the colonies, and sufficiently demonstrated that his talents entitled him to the highest stations in the field. His misfortune before Quebec, when duly considered, will not impeach his military fame, while the singular success he attained in conciliating the Canadians, and detaching them from co-operating with the British army, will be pronounced an equal commendation of his heart and his head. Few of the besieged fell in this attack; but the weakness of the British force was discovered by the consequences that immediately ensued. With the collected remnants of the American troops, Arnold was enabled to encamp on the heights of Abraham: and often to intercept supplies from Quebec.

Such was the result of this expedition to Canada. If it did not realize the sanguine wishes of its projectors, it at least reflected no discredit on the prowess of the colonial soldiers.

Several transactions of this year, in America, cannot, at this period of time, be held worthy of minute detail. The petty quarrels between individual governors, and their respective provinces, are absorbed in the grand contest between Great Britain and the confederated colonies. It will suffice to mention, that, in most of the states, the dispute was soon terminated, by the expulsion, or

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voluntary exile, of the governor. In Virginia alone do we find a contest particularly obstinate. In this colony, Lord Dunmore had long enjoyed great popularity; but, on the appearance of some of his letters among the other papers laid by Lord Dartmouth before parliament, in which severe comments were introduced on the character of the Americans, he had incurred the odium of the people. As early as the 20th of April 1775, proofs of this began to manifest themselves; and the ferment increasing, his lordship, in the month of May, removed his family on-board a ship of war, remaining himself in the government house, which he surrounded with artillery. Even here he did not long imagine himself in security, but, some weeks after, joined his family. Refusing to transact business, except on-board the ship where he took refuge, a provincial convention was chosen, about the middle of June, and the authority of government entirely superseded. Had Lord Dunmore immediately departed, he would probably have adopted the most prudent course; but, vainly imagining to effect by force what he had failed to secure by other means, he even compromised the dignity of his country, by a predatory war, in which he had the additional disgrace of being foiled. Mortified by his failure, he proclaimed martial law; and sensible that, in his hands, it was become a mere *brutum fulmen*, desperation farther prompted him to the rash expedient of emancipating all slaves that should join his standard. The measure of indignation now overflowed, while only a small accession of numbers was procured. The royal party was totally discomfited, in an attack upon the provincials; and his lordship, again stung with disappointment, devoted the flourishing town of Norfolk to the flames, abandoning, ultimately, with precipitation,

the scene thus marked by the effects of his resentment. CHAP. X.

The British troops remained, during autumn and the following winter, cooped up within Boston: diseases, indeed, had now unfitted them for extensive operations. The limited term of service of the provincials having expired, a committee of congress was appointed, to concur with Washington in promoting its renewal. Much persuasion was not found requisite, the men unanimously, and with the utmost alacrity, offering to re-inlist for another year. In the course of the predatory war which was carried on by the British after the battle of Bunkers hill, the town of Falmouth, for provocations, real or exaggerated, was condemned to the flames. This expedient was truly calculated to produce the most violent exasperation, and probably it contributed, in no small degree, to urge the bold resolution of the provincial congress of Massachussets, for granting letters of marque and reprisal against British vessels. The same course was afterwards followed by the continental congress, who had, on the appearance of decisive hostilities, taken measures for building a national navy, consisting of six frigates, and a greater proportion of smaller ships. Many of the Massachussets privateers were eminently successful in captures; thus farther aggravating the difficulty of supplying Boston. 1775.

The business of congress concluded with a formal answer to the royal proclamation, issued in the preceding month of August, that declared America to be in a state of rebellion. This charge was repelled, as false and unjust. Congress, in their anger, proceeded even to threaten, that any punishment, inflicted in Britain on persons who espoused their cause, should be equally retaliated Dec. 6.

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on those who, within their territory, abetted the system of ministerial oppression.

Thus terminated the first year of the fatal contest between Great Britain and her colonies. Its events had assuredly no tendency to dishearten the Americans, who now universally devoted themselves to arms. While nearly 200,000 men, training to military discipline, (at this number was their force throughout the continent actually computed) offered, assuredly, but slender hopes, to Britain of forcibly overcoming resistance, it was equally manifest, that the perseverance in such an attempt, by still farther alienating minds already much estranged, would necessarily drive them to the resolution of asserting a total independency. A consciousness of their own strength would teach them it was attainable: an unintermitted hostility on the part of Britain would convince them it was their sole alternative to avoid oppression.

CHAP. XI.

Meeting of parliament.... Motion of Lord John Cavendish in the commons.... Parliamentary debates.... Votes of land and sea forces for 1776.... *Motion of Lord North to raise the land tax to* 4s. *in the pound.... Mr. Burke's conciliatory motion.... Lord North's motion for suspending intercourse with the thirteen united colonies.... Proceedings of parliament after the recess.... Duke of Grafton's conciliatory proposition respecting America.... Military movements on the American continent.... General Howe reinforced.... The Americans evacuate Canada.... The American congress declares the states independent.... Washington obliged to retreat from Long Island, and afterwards to abandon New York.... The British army over-runs the province of New Jersey.... Movements of Lord Cornwallis.*

CHAP. XI. 1775.

THE indifference that prevailed in Britain, at the opening of the last session of parliament, with respect to the affairs of America, affords a striking contrast to the agitation and party violence that now divided the nation. The landed interest, who had expected nothing less than the immediate and unconditional submission of the colonists, were revolted at the disappointment of their wishes and predictions, while the commercial parts of the country, suffering already under a system they had previously deprecated, were only the louder in its condemnation, since experience had converted their fears into realities. To these opposite sources are to be traced the addresses and counter-petitions that preceded the meeting of parliament.

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The former not only condemned, indiscriminately, the conduct of America, and as generally approved the measures of administration; they reflected also, in terms of opprobrium, on the opposition at large. In the latter, the contrary sentiments were strongly urged; and, in proof of the amicable disposition of the Americans, the petitions of London and Bristol stated the large remittances for debts which they had lately received. But the public papers, in the pay of administration, were chiefly employed as the vehicles of abuse. The writers, in these publications, dared even to asperse, as secret traitors, the first characters of the country in rank and talents; and talked, with an affectedly mysterious style, of dark conspiracies, great personages, and approaching commitments. To such artifices were the partizans of tory principles and violent measures reduced, to discredit the authority of men, whose just animadversions they saw impending, without the power of otherwise shielding themselves against their force.

But, whatever might be the prevailing opinion in England, the rest of Europe, at least, spoke in condemnation of the present councils of Britain. The Seven united states, in particular, refused to hire their troops for the purpose of subjugating America. Many compared its present situation to their own under Philip II. Others stated, as the ground of their refusal, that, if violent measures were persevered in by Britain, they would drive the colonies into the arms of France.

On the 26th of October 1775, the peculiar circumstances of the times urging so early a meeting, parliament was convened. In the speech from the throne, a full view was set forth of the actual state of America. The successes of the colonists were wholly attributed to the undue bene-

volence of the British government, which, more intent on undeceiving, than on punishing, its subjects, had, on this account, and solely on this account, sent out a small force, accompanying it with conciliatory propositions. The ungrateful return it had met, proved, that the utmost vigour must now be exerted. A proposal was held out, of foreign succours; and it was stated, that, to increase, immediately, our disposable force, the garrisons of Gibraltar and Mahon had been relieved by Hanoverian troops. Mercy, however, was promised to the deluded rebels, who should make proper submission to commissioners that were to be appointed for that purpose. The speech concluded, with assurances of the pacific views of foreign powers.

The address, which re-echoed these assertions, fell, as usual, under the violent censures of the minority. Lord John Cavendish immediately moved, in the commons, an amendment, the substance of which was,—'that coercion had inflamed the evils it had been designed to allay, and hence, it might be suspected, had been inconsiderately resolved upon: that the house would proceed to reconsider so serious a subject; and trusted its conclusions would supersede the necessity of employing foreign troops against British possessions.' Opposition peremptorily denied that America had hitherto aspired at independence, though such must be the issue of perseverance in the present system. They attacked, with pointed ridicule, the solution given of the American successes, and alleged, as a truer explanation, the ignorance of ministers respecting American affairs; all their information on which was exclusively derived from some fugitive governors, exasperated at the provinces who had expelled them. If they had had access to more accurate sources, then they had in-

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Nevertheless, two days after, Sir James Lowther proposed a similar resolution in the commons. There, indeed, had peculiarly appeared a jealousy at the conduct of government; and, however, reluctantly yielding, the minister saw no chance of reconciling the country gentlemen, but by promising he would take an act of indemnity. Thus soothed, they displayed their former fidelity, and the previous question passed, 203 dividing for it, and only 81 against it.

On a recent occasion, 28,000 seamen and marines had been voted for the service of the year 1776; a number which an experienced admiral had justly characterized as too large for peace, and far from commensurate to war. On the same scale, however, did the minister propose to raise the land forces. 55,000 men only were demanded, of which 25,000 were thought sufficient for the colonies. In vain did opposition remonstrate against the singular inconsistency of threatening America in the highest tone of coercion, and supporting it by so inadequate a force. The minister still contended for his heterogeneous system of limited coercion and hollow conciliation.

Nov. 8.

But the object, far the most important, that engaged the attention of parliament previous to the recess, was the consideration of the petition from congress to his majesty. Early in the month of September, Mr. Penn, hereditary governor of Pennsylvania, arrived in England, having voluntarily offered to be the agent in so arduous and momentous a mission.

In this petition, congress set forth the warmest expressions of duty and loyalty to the king—of affection to the mother country. The various evils they had endured they ascribed wholly to the pernicious system of government, so fatally begun in 1763. They declared their earnest anxiety

for concord, and for concord on so firm a basis, as should perpetuate its blessings to succeeding generations. Notwithstanding their sufferings, they protested, they retained too tender a regard for the kingdom whence they derived their origin, to request such a conciliation *as might, in any manner, be inconsistent with the dignity or the welfare of Britain.* Their grievances, once redressed, they would prove themselves ready, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of his majesty and of the mother country. They humbly, therefore, submitted it to his majesty, that he *would be pleased to direct some mode*, by which the united applications to the throne, of his faithful colonists, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; requesting, meanwhile, a cessation of hostilities, and the repeal of such statutes *as more immediately distressed* any of his majesty's colonies.

The evil genius of Britain could alone have inspired ministers with the thought of advising his majesty to reply, through his secretary,—'that no answer would be returned to this petition.' They said, indeed, it was an insidious overture. But were this as true as experience has palpably refuted it, could they have more effectually entered into the views of congress, than by a peremptory denial, that at once banished from the minds of the colonists every remaining hope of amicable accommodation? With laudable anxiety, the duke of Richmond sought to retrieve the effects of so fatal an error. The petition having been laid, with other papers, on the table of the peers, his grace, as an essential preliminary, moved, and not without great difficulty obtained, the examination of Mr. Penn at the bar of their house.

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This gentleman, personally acquainted with almost every member of the American congress, explicitly denied that they at all entertained any design of independence. Elected in the fairest manner, they conveyed the real sense of the people; and war they had levied and supported merely in order to defend their liberties. That war they had entered into almost to a man, and with a full conviction that they were equal to all its extremities. In Pennsylvania alone, 20,000 men had voluntarily inrolled themselves, to serve without pay,—persons of the first property and consequence. Both the congress and people had been extremely dissatisfied at the fate of their former petition; but on *this* their highest hopes were grounded; and it was emphatically styled the *olive branch of peace*. The refusal of the petition, he did not hesitate to affirm, would, at Philadelphia, by the coolest individuals, be deemed a final bar to reconcilement, and, in general, would drive the Americans, notwithstanding their repugnance to them, into foreign connections. Sensible as the people were of the enjoyment of freedom, under their present provisional government, he could declare, with perfect confidence, that the great majority would prefer freedom under Britain to any other state of freedom. He concluded by saying, that the stamp act had excited immediate discontent in the colonies, while its repeal had afforded so much joy, that the declaratory act was wholly overlooked, and would never have been noticed, as a grievance, had it not been carried thus into execution.

On this important and decisive evidence, the duke of Richmond immediately moved,—'that the petition from congress to the king is ground of conciliation between Great Britain and the colonies;' and his grace, in the most earnest man-

ner, conjured ministers not to let by an opportunity, which, if once passed, would never again recur. But the old and trite language, that the sovereignty of the British parliament would be thereby relinquished, and that the congress was not a *legal body*, was deemed, by ministers, and by a large majority of the house, a sufficient justification for rejecting the proposal.

Attempts have been made, not to impeach wholly, (for that has been found, even by the advocates of toryism, impossible), but to limit the credit due to, the testimony of Mr. Penn. It has been said, that his was merely an *ex parte* evidence. That this (though now an objection obviously over-ruled by experience) might, at the time, carry some weight with it, will not be denied. Still, however, it might be asked, if, when ministers themselves had confessed that their information relative to the state of America had been imperfect,—if, when it was known that from expelled and mortified governors it had been chiefly derived, the deposition of a man, personally acquainted with every member of congress, of liberal information, and most deeply interested, by extensive property, in the preservation of the connection between Great Britain and the colonies, ought not preferably to have received the credit due to the strongest probability?

On the 13th of November, Lord North moved, that the land tax should be raised to 4*s*. in the pound. On this occasion, the minister was reduced to the awkward necessity of promising, that the indemnity bill, which had been allowed to languish, should be forwarded; and (what was a still more serious dilemma) of retracting his own expressions in a former debate, by declaring, that the idea of drawing a revenue from America was

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not abandoned. On these terms he again evaded the opposition of the country gentlemen.

A last effort was now made, by opposition, to avert a war, on the point of being declared. A bill was introduced, by Mr. Burke,—'to compose the present troubles, and for quieting his majesty's subjects in America;' proposing the famous charter of Edward I, *de tallajio non concedendo*, as the model of the intended adjustment of the dispute. The speaker prefaced his motion, by observing, that moderation, though true wisdom in tempestuous seasons of political changes, is generally imputed to fear; and, as in the present case, to treason also. Three plans only could be conceived as applicable to the present state of America:—simple war; war and treaty; peace, grounded on concession. The objections to the two former he enforced with his usual splendid abilities. Our present preparations, by every military authority, had been openly or tacitly agreed to be inadequate for the first. With regard to the second, he considered it as ludicrous in the extreme. You send out pardons, to whom? to the Americans! They do not ask you for them. Far from acknowledging they have wronged you, it is you, they allege, who have wronged them; for which they demand, and loudly demand, not pardon, but redress. Concession, therefore, could alone meet the nature of the existing differences. By preceding treaty, it came in the manner most compatible with the dignity of a great state, as an act of grace, not a grant extorted by negociation. The confidence, also, inspired by such a proceeding, insured the happiest results. He conjured the house to imitate the wisdom of Edward I. He too might have claimed, and with more justice claimed, the right of taxation; a right so repeatedly exercised by his ancestors, and submitted to by the people.

But when the voice of his subjects was unanimously raised against it, what did he do? Passing over the question of right in silence, he abdicated its exercise. This was the model proposed by the bill Mr. Burke now offered to the house. It renounced, for ever, the exercise of taxation; and, in order effectually to obviate the chance of future differences, while it declared, that duties regulating trade were within the province of the British parliament, it enacted, that the revenue thence derived should be at the disposal of the colonial assemblies. The bill farther went to empower the crown to convene general congresses, whose acts should be binding on all the colonies; to repeal the duty act of 1767, and all subsequent statutes relative to America. Finally, it granted a general amnesty.

The debate that ensued on this occasion is accounted one of the most able and animated that was ever maintained in the house of commons. The arguments urged, however, have been, in general, stated on former occasions. The motion was rejected, by a majority of 210 against 105.

The remainder of the short period previous to the recess was consumed in other debates. The indemnity bill, that had been languidly carried through the commons, after being worded in such a manner as contained no sort of acknowlegment, on the part of ministers, of unconstitutional conduct, was, on that account, moved to be rejected, by the marquis of Rockingham, who prevailed; the ministerial lords joining with him, from an opposite feeling, that an indemnity bill was totally uncalled for on such a ground.

But the most severe contests, in both houses, were occasioned by a bill brought in, on the 20th of November, by Lord North, interdicting all

CHAP. XI. 1775. trade and intercourse with the Thirteen united colonies, and enacting, that their property on the seas, and in their harbours, should be forfeited to the captors, with very little formality in the condemnation. The same bill provided for sending out commissioners of peace, to receive the submission of colonies, or individuals, whom they were, in that case, to re-admit to their former condition. Opposition exerted their powers against this measure, as a heterogeneous mixture of war and conciliation, that could only have all the odium of the former, without any of its efficiency. In every stage, the bill was encountered, both in the lords and commons; but it finally passed, by a great majority, a few days previous to the recess.

1776. Feb. 15. The first important business of parliament, after the recess, began by Mr. T. Townsend's reading the proceedings of the Irish legislature, and imputing them to folly and temerity. Lord Harcourt's message to the Irish parliament had bound us to pay the troops to be sent to America, and to replace them with 4,000 foreign protestants. Twelve thousand men were still to be retained in Ireland, which was to be relieved at the same time of a burthen of £80,000. The opposers of the measure said, that this was part of a preconcerted plan, in the first place, to establish a precedent for introducing foreign troops into the country, and besides that, to vest in the crown the virtual right of taxing both Ireland and England. In Ireland the minister was to ask some favour; then England was to be pledged. In England, Ireland was to be taxed, in order to maintain the supremacy of the legislature.

Lord North submitted to the house copies of the treaties with the duke of Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the hereditary prince of

Hesse Cassel, and the prince of Waldeck. The terms upon which these troops were sold to Britain, by the petty princes of Germany, those wholesale dealers in human flesh, were high beyond all precedent: the sums paid as salaries to the venders were enormous. The duke of Brunswick, for supplying 4,084 men, received £15,519 a-year during their continuance, and double that sum for two years after they ceased to be employed. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel obtained £108,281 per annum. The dominions of these subsidiary princes were also guaranteed against foreign attack. In the lower house a number of unanswerable objections were urged by the members of opposition, against the employment of mercenaries, so dear in their price, so unconstitutional in the service they were sent upon, against a part of our empire: the irritating tendency of their hostilities, and the great probability of their being tempted to desert, by offers of land from the very enemy they were sent to subdue. Necessity seemed to be the only apology of ministers. CHAP. XI. 1776. Feb. 29.

In the upper house, the duke of Richmond moved for an address, to countermand the march of foreign troops, and to obtain a suspension of hostilities. The most vehement censures were expressed by the supporters of his grace's motion, against the power reserved to a foreign prince, of administering justice within the dominions of Great Britain; and the better to effect it, an executioner, with servants, formed part of the Hessian establishment; nor was any exception or limitation to this illegal power provided, even should the civil government of America be restored. Lord Temple, in the debate, adhered to ministry. Being one of the whigs who had uniformly been least averse to the taxation of America, he felt the strongest dislike to embarrass government at a March 5.

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crisis like the present, when it appeared to him to be proper to sacrifice every consideration for a while to the integrity of the British empire, and the preservation of its general supremacy over the colonial parts. The duke of Richmond's motion was cast out by a large majority.

March 6. March 21.

The intelligence received from America gave rise to several motions and inquiries for papers. Mr. Fox made a motion for a committee to inquire into the ill success of his majesty's arms, and the defection of the people of Quebec, which was rejected. Mr. Sawbridge made his annual motion respecting the duration of parliament; and Wilkes, beside his accustomed effort against the Middlesex election, brought forward a project of parliamentary reform. The motions were all unsuccessful.

A conciliatory proposition, brought forward in the upper house by the duke of Grafton, met with no better success. His grace moved for an address, beseeching the king to issue a proclamation, declaring, that if the colonies, within a reasonable time, before or after the arrival of the troops, should present a petition to the commander in chief, or to the commissioners under the late act, setting forth what they conceived to be their just rights and real grievances, the petition should be transmitted to his majesty, who would consent to a suspension of arms, and to assure them, that it should be received, considered, and answered. The duke, in comparing the powers of the commissioners with the king's speech, demanded what the clause meant.—'Commissioners are to be appointed; and that is all. What are they to do? to receive submissions. Does it state what submissions, or provide for any conditions? Have the commissioners power to make concessions? Not one! the alternative is resistance, or unconditional sub-

mission,—eternal hostility is proclaimed, unless America shall disarm and surrender.' To urge, that the Americans could not be treated with while armed, was in fact to refuse all treaty for a whole people, engaged in what appeared to them the best of causes; who had already committed themselves so far, as to incur the censures of rebellion; who would not, while they retained the means of defence, forego their only hope, and submit without conditions to those whom they considered as their oppressors. To place the policy of our impending civil war, in a still more dangerous light, the duke besought parliament to look well into the dispositions of our ancient and habitual enemies. France and Spain had avowed, or rather pretended, pacific intentions; but they were collecting great naval and military stores.

In defence of this system of American coercion, the same arguments were used in answer to opposition, which had been so frequently repeated in the course of previous discussions on this subject; and in reply to the supposed probability of France and Spain joining against us, it was said, that the idea of an attack from our habitual enemies was to be considered as chimerical. The duke's motion was finally rejected.

Mr. Hartley, on the 1st of April, unsuccessfully moved, in the house of commons, the form of an address, empowering commissioners to offer certain limited and reasonable terms to the Americans, and to issue a proclamation, assuring them of being placed on the same footing with Ireland in regard to pecuniary grants. Another attempt was made by General Conway, for inspecting the powers of the commissioners, which was, like the last-mentioned motion, negatived. The king terminated the session by a speech, in which he declared his hopes that his rebellious subjects might yet be awakened to a sense of their errors, and

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bring about the favourite wish of his heart, the restoration of harmony and peace to his dominions.

The prediction of opposition, respecting the intentions of France and Spain, proved ultimately too true, although the ministry had pronounced them chimerical. Except Austria, who shut her ports in the Low countries against the American vessels, we had no friend on the continent on whom we could rely. The public opinion in Britain, among a numerous class of subjects, the whigs and the dissenters, was inimical to the principles of the war; and the most popular productions of the press, asserted, in open terms, the justice of the cause of America. Every circumstance and prospect appeared to conspire in disconcerting the efforts of government. As if to crown our calamitous situation, General Howe, remaining pent up in Boston, attempted nothing against his opponent Washington; but suffered that general, although unprovided with ammunition, and otherwise distressed, to maintain his post for six months, within musket-shot of 20 British regiments. The prudent American availed himself of General Howe's inactivity, to repair and recruit an army, which at one time was suffered to waste away to a very small force, by the phlegmatic spirit of the provincial republicans, which, in a cause of right and independence, and, if contrasted with their former declarations of resistance, seemed to be unaccountably increasing. They were already divided by parties, and full of the most deadly animosities. Nothing but the skill of such a leader as Washington could have cemented and saved their common cause. The first military manœuvre of that commander, in the spring campaign of 1776, strongly evinced his abilities. As soon as his army was recruited, he made a movement, as if for attacking Boston; but his attempt was not in

earnest; and the garrison of that place discovered, to their utter astonishment, that in one night he had fortified the whole chain of Dorchester heights. As a defence against attack to regain them, the Americans had chained together hogsheads filled with stones, to roll down upon the heads of the assailants. Boston and its harbour became untenable after this masterly stroke of the enemy. Washington entering in triumph, found immense and valuable stores, the barracks uninjured, and a great quantity of cannon fit for service; and the place, upon the whole, improved, rather than injured, by the possession of the royal army. The hopes and efforts of congress, and of the American people at large, were enlivened by this event in every quarter, even in Canada, where they had suffered most declension. Arnold erected batteries on the shores of S^t. Lawrence, and set fire to a number of houses in the neighbourhood. For five months the blockade of Quebec was kept up without interruption, till a daring sally of General Carleton drove the Americans back in great confusion.

CHAP. XI. 1776. March 4.

Reinforcements having arrived from Ireland and England, and a detachment from General Howe, and another of foreign troops, having augmented the army of Canada to 13,000 men, Carleton pursued the route of the Americans to Trois Riviers, a village in the midway between Montreal and Quebec. Thomson, the commander of the American forces in that quarter, embarked with his troops at Sorel, in fifty boats, and, coasting the south side of S^t. Peter's lake, where the river S^t. Lawrence spreads to a considerable extent, arrived at Nicolet, from whence his troops fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with an intention of surprising the forces under General Fraser. They proceeded with the utmost caution, concealing

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themselves during the day. On landing, however, they were discovered, and were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. They were driven some miles through a deep swamp, which they traversed with great toil and danger. The British troops at length grew tired of the pursuit; and the woods afforded a shelter to the fugitives. The commander, Thomson, with about 200 was taken prisoners. The Americans were obliged, by the consequences of this victory, to evacuate Canada. About the beginning of July, the greatest preparations were made by both armies to prepare a fleet for the navigation of the great lakes, which were now destined to be the scene of warfare. The Americans employed themselves under Arnold, with indefatigable diligence, to equip six vessels, carrying 90 guns, for the purpose of commanding lake Champlain, which were constructed both to row and to sail. General Carleton constructed batteaux, armed vessels, and gun-boats, carrying in all 87 guns, to convey his army across the lakes. This flotilla began its operations in October, by driving on shore, on Valcour island, an American brig of 14 guns. During a contest of some duration, three American vessels were afterwards destroyed, with about 70 men killed and wounded.

A squadron, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, had sailed from Cork, with about 3,000 land forces on board, in the month of February, on an expedition to the middle and southern colonies. The departure of this fleet was delayed by a singular circumstance. The lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Harcourt, doubting his power to permit the troops to leave the kingdom, a clause, empowering him to adopt this measure, was inserted in a bill then pending in the parliament of Ireland. When the bill came to England, the clause was struck out with indignation, as implying an undue limitation

of the prerogative; but the lord-lieutenant, conceiving himself pledged by the king's word, would not let the troops embark, without leave of the legislature; and a new clause was hastily inserted in another bill, which was transmitted and passed, though not without great resentment at the lord-lieutenant, who, upon his arrival in England some time afterwards, met at court with a very indifferent reception. Sir Peter Parker having anchored off cape Fear, was joined by General Clinton; but finding that nothing could be attempted upon Virginia, he determined to attack the city of Charlestown, and anchored again off the bar of the harbour of that town. On the 28th of June the Bristol and Experiment, each of 50 guns, advanced across the bar to attack the fort on Sullivans island: a most furious cannonade from the shipping, was returned with equal warmth from the fort. The ships, after fighting till evening, slipped their cables, and withdrew from the scene of action. The Actæon of 28 guns was run aground and set on fire. The design on Charlestown was, after this disaster, abandoned; and Sir Peter Parker immediately set sail for New-York. The failure of an attack on one of the principal colonies, was extremely detrimental to the British cause: it gave additional animation to the hopes of the Americans. Congress expressed high approbation of the conduct of the colonels Moultrie and Thomson, who, under the direction of General Lee, had so ably defended the fort of Sullivans island. The hopes of America naturally rising with her success, the state of Virginia gave instructions to Richard Henry Lee, to give in her motion to congress for declaring America independent. The debates on this subject were continued nearly a fortnight. John Adams was the principal supporter in congress of the declaration of independence. Mr. Dickenson,

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a man of temperate and pacific views, was the opposer. When the question was put, six colonies voted on each side, and the delegates for Pensylvania were equally divided. In Maryland, the delegates had been instructed, by a majority of seven counties to four, to oppose the question of independence in the congress, which they did oppose; and having given in their votes, withdrew totally from that assembly. But the horror of being excluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the other states, and perhaps the dread of their resentment, soon gave a new turn to the conduct, if not to the disposition, of that province. The delegates were again instructed to return to the congress, and act there as they thought best for the interests of their country.

July 4. The fatal day at length arrived, when 13 English colonies in America declared themselves free and independent states, abjured all allegiance to the British crown, and renounced all political connection with this country.

Three principal objects were proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the present campaign. The first was the relief of Quebec, and the recovery of Canada, which also included the subsequent invasion of the back parts of the colonies, by the way of the lakes. The second was to make a strong impression on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least succeed so far as to the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New-York. The partial success of the first, and the failure of the second, part of the project has been already mentioned. The expedition against New-York was judged to be so practicable, that Washington himself regarded it with alarm. To meet the expected attack, he spared neither pains nor expence in casting up entrench-

ments, both at New-York and Long island; and, by chains and sunk vessels in different parts of the channel, endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the British fleet up the north and east rivers. General Howe, on the 1st of July, and Lord Howe, about the middle of the same month, landed their troops at Staten island. The powerful fleet which his lordship brought out from England, conveyed, besides the national forces, about 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers. The whole force, if the different parts could have been brought together, was computed at 35,000 men, although deductions are to be made, if we would compute the really effective number.[1] Lord Howe made the first effort, as a pacificator, by opening a direct communication with Washington. His letter, however, being superscribed, 'To George Washington, esquire,' the general refused to receive it, as not being addressed with the title, nor in the form due to the rank he held in the United states. Congress afterwards applauded the dignity of this refusal. Lord Howe's next act was to send ashore, by a flag of truce, a circular letter to the several late governors of the colonies, acquainting them with his civil and military powers, and desiring that they would publish as generally as possible, for the information of the people, a declaration accompanying the letter. He informed the public of the powers with which his brother and himself were endowed, under the late act of parliament, of granting general or particular pardons to all those who, in the tumult and disaster of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour. This declaration was forwarded by Washington to con-

July 14.

July 15.

[1] *Vide* page .

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gress, who published them as if in contempt of the mother country, accompanied with a comment and preface, in which they described them as shallow artifices, to blind and disarm the people of America. On the 21st, Colonel Patterson, a British officer, was sent to the American lines with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. which was also rejected, as informally addressed. As a last effort to avoid hostilities, Lord Howe wrote a letter to Franklin, who answered, that, as a preface to all pacific negociations, it would be required for Britain to acknowledge American independence, and pay the expences of the war. This was, to be sure, only the doctor's private opinion; but it was evidently the general spirit of his constituents, so that farther negociation was stopped.

July 21.

The troops under General Clinton having disembarked on Long Island, along with the main army, 15,000 provincials, after retreating from the advanced posts, encamped near Mill creek, very formidably entrenched. Another party had constructed strong works on the East river, opposite New-York. The right wing of the English army was put in motion under General Clinton, supported by Lord Percy and Lord Cornwallis, on the night of the 26th, and secured a pass over the heights of Guiana, on the road to Bedford. They reached Bedford at nine the next morning; and the American left wing was driven in confusion over the Mill creek. A column of Hessians attacked the American centre, and drove them into the woods. The left column of the British, advancing under General Grant, completed the victory, by forcing the right of the enemy, after they had proceeded over the narrows by the edge of the bay. In this victory, which, from a spot in the centre of its scene, was called the action of Brooklyn, the British troops lost between 60 and 70 killed, and 230 wounded. The Americans

August 26.

——27.

lost 3,100 in killed, wounded, and prisoners: among the prisoners were generals Sullivan, Udell, and Lord Stirling. In the evening of the same day, the British army encamped in front of the American lines, and next morning broke ground about 600 yards from one of the redoubts on the left. Washington unable any longer to face an enemy superior in number, resources, and discipline, and flushed with conquest, retired to New-York. He conducted this retreat with great skill, favoured by the darkness of night, over East river to New York. Long island was enveloped in a thick fog, which prevented the British troops from observing the motions of the Americans. It was generally supposed, and asserted, that if Howe had, after the victory of Brooklyn, availed himself of the eagerness of the British troops in pursuit, and taken possession of Brooklyn ferry, the escape of the Americans must have been prevented. Thus the result of the victory was only the unimportant possession of Long island. Lord Howe, conceiving the moment of success to be favourable for negociation, dispatched his prisoner, General Sullivan, to the congress, for the purpose of inviting some of the members of that body to meet him, not as representatives of an independent state, but as men of influence in America, whose influence could forward pacification. In such a state as Washington was then placed in, it was not to be expected but that many of the most inveterate opposers of Britain were inclined to peace. By the general's own account, the most dangerous want of discipline and subordination pervaded the provincial troops. From this cause, and from the very nature of the military engagement of his men, which was but for one year, he confesses, in one of his own letters,—'that his condition was alarming, and that, with the deepest

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concern, he was obliged to confess his want of confidence in the generality of the troops.' If the congress, however, contained any members desirous for peace, on terms of compromise with the mother country, no such spirit appeared in the three gentlemen, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, the committee, who came to confer with Lord Howe, in consequence of his lordship's invitation. Disclaiming the character of private negociators, they would only be considered as delegates of congress, and would negociate on no other basis than American independency. A manifesto was published, on both sides, in consequence of this abortive attempt. Preparations were, in the meantime, carried on for attacking New-York. Washington, reduced by desertion, disobedience, and the declining enthusiasm of his army, was embarrassed in his choice of difficulties. If he concentrated his army for the defence of New-York, he must leave the country open to an approaching enemy, and depend for success, and even existence, on a pitched battle. If he abandoned his post, the cause was likely to suffer from apparent debility. A middle course was adopted. He allotted 5,000 men for the defence of the city; 9,000 to defend some important posts and dependencies; and the remainder of his whole force for a body of reserve. It was found impossible, by any effort, to defend New-York, under circumstances so disadvantageous. Washington was obliged to fall back, on the 15th of September, to Morris heights, which he fortified. The city, with the heavy cannon of the enemy, and great part of their stores, fell into the possession of General Howe. About the time of the entry of the British, it was set on fire (as was supposed) by some American incendiaries, and, in spite of the utmost exertions of the military, about one

Sept. 14.

third of the buildings were destroyed. During the remainder of the month of September, and during a considerable part of October, no effort was left untried to bring the Americans to a general action, which they, with equal prudence, declined. A sufficient force being left to protect New-York, our troops embarked, to attack the provincials on the New-England road. At last, when the Americans were drawn out on a parallel to the British, from Kingsbridge on the right, to White plains on the left, separated by the river Brunx, the royal forces approached to attack, under Generals Howe and Clinton. The centre of the enemy, unfortunately, was not made a sufficient object by the British general, who was diverted by a force of 4,000 men, which Washington had posted on a strong position on an eminence. The chief force of General Howe, being addressed to that quarter, was of little use, even though it was crowned with victory; as the Americans, after the engagement, remained quiet in their entrenchments, till they had an opportunity, on the 1st of November, of retiring across the Croton, to an impregnable situation, defended in front by that river, and in the rear by woods and heights.

To secure an important post, communicating with the Jersey shore, and commanding the North river, the British general attacked fort Washington, and, in spite of a gallant defence by the garrison, took it by storm. The loss of the royal army, in killed and wounded, amounted to 800; that of the enemy, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to 3,300. Lord Cornwallis, landing on the Jersey shore immediately subsequent to this success, in the space of three weeks over-ran the whole province of New Jersey, the American general, Lee, constantly retreating before him. Dur-

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ing Lord Cornwallis's progress, General Clinton was dispatched to occupy Rhode island, which the Americans abandoned on his approach. In the midst of these combined successes, Lord Howe

Nov. 30.

issued another offer of pardon to all who should return to obedience in America. Such a well timed instance of lenity might have answered its object, to a degree that might have proved fatal to American independence, had his lordship found it possible to have marched on the British directly to Philadelphia; but winter having now commenced, and no sufficient quantity of boats being in readiness, to effect the crossing of the Delaware, our troops were obliged to wait till the ice should be sufficiently formed to admit of a passage. In

Dec. 13.

this gloomy state of their affairs, the capture of the American general, Lee, who had quitted his camp, near Moristown, and was surprised by a body of light troops, under General Harcourt, additionally disheartened the provincial troops. This commander, so deservedly popular in the American army, on account of his high and romantic enthusiasm, as well as his genius for military affairs, was detained a close prisoner, although Washington offered six British officers as a ransom for his liberty.

The American congress, during a series of most disheartening events, preserved a dignified unyielding perseverance. To meet the exigencies of the war, they passed resolutions for raising, by loan, at 4 per cent. 80,000 dollars, for which certificates were to be given, and the faith of the United states pledged, both for principal and interest. By the scheme of a national lottery, a still greater sum was raised. In pursuance of their general's suggestions, that it was necessary to make the term of service longer than a year, they passed a vote

for 88 battalions, to serve during the war. The bounties were increased, and portions of land were allotted, as the eventual reward of the officers and soldiers, should American independence be established. The lands were promised in due proportion, from a colonel to a common soldier, from grants of 500 to 100. Washington accounted the vote for 88 battalions too small for the great occasion, and proposed to congress the raising of 110. CHAP. XI. 1776.

General Howe's position occupied, at this time, a space of 80 miles, from the Delaware to the Hackensack. Trenton and Bordenton, the barriers of the Jerseys, were defended by Hessian troops, under Colonel Rhalle and Count Donop. Washington, by a judicious feint, drew Donop, with his whole force, from his position at Bordenton, and ordering his troops to meet on the night of christmas, on the Delaware, and marching through a violent storm of snow and hail, pressed into the town of Trenton, and charged the Germans before they had time to form. The Hessians captured in Trenton amounted to 23 officers and 886 men, the remainder who were stationed there effecting their escape. The prisoners were paraded through Philadelphia, for the purpose of convincing the people that the much dreaded Hessians were not invincible. At Trenton, the American general mustered his forces, and, by an advance of pay, prevailed on half the number, whose term of service was expired, to inlist for another six weeks. Dec. 26.

Lord Cornwallis, being now recalled from New-York, to head the British troops in the Jerseys, joined with General Grant, and expected to have an opportunity of falling upon Washington, who held a strong position on some heights behind Trenton: but in this movement he unfortunately

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1776. left the town of Princetown insufficiently guarded; and Washington, availing himself of the error to his own advantage, suddenly made a march to Princetown, and took possession of the place, with some plunder, after obliging the few British who were in it to make a hasty retreat. Had the fatigued state of his troops allowed him to have advanced to Brunswick, he would have there captured the military chest of our army, containing £70,000. Lord Cornwallis, still endeavouring to bring on a general action, pursued the track of the Americans; but, for the refreshment of his troops, was obliged to halt at Brunswick. Washington was thus enabled to over-run the Jerseys, and to seize on several places in the Essex coun-

1776-7. try, of very considerable importance. Wintering at Moristown, he had a strong situation, a fine country for supplies behind him, and a security of passing the Delaware. Of all their recent possessions in the Jerseys, only the posts of Brunswick and Amboy remained to the British army at the opening of the year 1777.

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King's speech at the opening of parliament in October.... Motions in both houses respecting America.... Proceedings of parliament after the recess.... Message from his majesty on the state of the civil list.... Debates on that subject.... Symptoms of hostility in France and Holland.... Operations of the armies in America in the summer of 1777.... *Battle of Brandywine.... Lord Howe moves round from the Chesapeak to the Delaware.... Fixes his head quarters six miles from Philadelphia.... Clears up the passage of the Delaware, and reduces the fortifications on Red bank and Fort island, but too late in the season to avail himself properly of those successes .... State of our northern army in America.... Operations on lake Champlain.... Sir Guy Carleton superseded by General Burgoyne.... General Burgoyne proceeds to Crown point.... Meets the Indians.... Publishes a manifesto.... Obliges the enemy to abandon a strong position at Ticonderoga.... Advances to fort Edward.... Unfortunate expeditions of the colonels Baum and Breymtan.... Siege of fort Stanwix abandoned by our troops under Colonel St. Leger .... Burgoyne passes the Hudson's river, and encamps at Saratoga.... Battle on the* 19th *of September.... Failure of General Clinton's intention to make a diversion in his favour .... Burgoyne's disasterous situation.... All avenues for retreat, and inlets for supply, stopped by the enemy.... Our army capitulates at Saratoga.... Terms of the convention.*

ON the 31st of October 1776, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech, of which the principal topics were the success of our arms in America; the pacific assurances of

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1776. the other powers of Europe; and the resolution of his majesty to persevere in reducing America to a sense of her duty. An amendment, offered by Lord John Cavendish, alluding to the disasters which had attended our arms in America, and proposing to declare a wish for milder measures with our late colonies, was proposed in the commons, in framing their answer to the address, and was negatived. In the house of lords, the earl of Carlisle made a motion of similar tendency, with no more success. During the latter debate, the lords of opposition appeared to be divided in their views of American affairs, the duke of Richmond declaring himself morally certain that all attempts to recover America would be vain, while Lord Shelburne, and others, though they censured our conduct in that quarter, declared, that they never would consent to see this country relinquish its

Nov. 6. commercial controul over America. The late proclamation of Lord and General Howe, at New-York, underwent consideration next after the subjects of the addresses. Lord John Cavendish said, that he intended to move, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the revival of all acts of parliament, by which his majesty's subjects in America thought themselves aggrieved. The blame thrown upon government was, that they had only offered to America unconditional submission. 'Lay down your arms, and then we will do just as we please.' Burke observed, that if a conquest had been gained over the devil himself in hell, a smaller portion of liberality could not have been shewn. The motion of Lord John Cavendish was rejected. The resolutions on the army and navy estimates occasioned but little

December. debate; and, on the 13th of December, both houses adjourned for the christmas recess.

The first business of any importance after the re-

cess, was a bill brought in by the minister, for enabling the king to detain and secure prisoners, charged with or suspected of high treason, committed in North America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy. By this law, which suspended the habeas-corpus act, magistrates were empowered to imprison individuals, under certain circumstances, without bail or mainprize, and were not bound to liberate them, unless by an order of the privy council. Under some limitations, and with a clause which restricted the operation of the act to persons who were actually absent from the realm, the bill passed through both houses. During the same month an act also passed for issuing letters of marque and reprisal against American vessels. CHAP. XII. 1777. Feb. 6. Feb. 24.

Towards the close of the session, Lord Chatham, who had not during this session attended the upper house, came forward with another attempt to advise his majesty to take measuses for reconciling, and pacifying, and doing justice to the Americans. His lordship explained his plan to comprehend a redress of all grievances, and an acknowledgement of the right of the Americans to dispose of their own money. 'We have tried,' said he, 'in vain for unconditional submission, by open war, for the sake of which we have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony, and laid ourselves at the mercy of every little German chancery. We shall soon be also at the mercy of France, if we hold out no terms of justice or friendship to the provincials; for the pretensions of that inimical power will increase in proportion as the enmity increases between this country and America, either in concluding a peace or a war. We are the aggressors; we have invaded America as much as the Spanish armada invaded England. Mercy cannot be injurious; it will enthrone the king where May 30.

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he ought to be, in the hearts of his people.' The long-beaten ground of discussion on American affairs, was gone over in canvassing this motion: it was lost by a very large majority. In consequence of a message from his majesty, describing

April 16. the embarrassed state of the civil list, a committee of supply was appointed for considering that subject, and was furnished with explanatory papers. A fair handle was given to the opposition to inveigh against the dangerous consequences that must arise from an augmentation of the civil list, and the consequent influence of the crown, already become too powerful. Burke asserted, that nothing but a confidence in the servility of the house could make the minister desperate enough to assert, that sufficient provision had not been already made for the splendour of the crown. The committee, however, resolved to grant the required sum for discharging arrears, and to add to the civil list £100,000 *per annum*. The king expressed his approbation of the conduct of parliament, and thanked them for this unquestionable proof of their continued attachment to his person and government.

The predictions so often urged by opposition in parliament, of the real, though disguised, intentions of France to interfere in our disputes with America, seemed at length on the eve of being verified. The American privateers found a ready sale for their captures in the French ports, as well in Europe as in the West-Indies. An order (it is true) was issued by the courts to forbid such receptions; but the injunction was frequently evaded, and probably never was intended to be seriously enforced. During the session, it was found necessary to deliver, by the hands of our ambassador at the Hague, a memorial to the states, in which satisfaction was demanded for an insult upon the British flag, dictated by the same spirit of hostility so apparent in

the former conduct of Holland. The British ambassador founded his complaint on authentic documents, by which it appeared 'that the governor 'of Eustatia had permitted a British vessel to be 'captured by an American "*pirate*," and, adding insult to injury, had fired a salute from his fortress to the rebel flag. Their high mightinesses were called upon by the English minister to disavow the salute, and recal the Eustatian governor, M. Van Graaf. The Dutch government consented to both demands, being either unprepared to come to open hostilities, or anxious for the preservation of peace; but the general mind of the people of Holland was known to bear antipathy to the cause of Britain; and their political publications at home, as well as their transactions abroad, bespoke the part they were soon to take in our American quarrel. CHAP. XII. 1776.

In every debate on the present war that took place in the British parliament, it had been the custom of opposition to predict, that its consequences would involve our West-Indian possessions in calamity and distress; and it had been as regularly the custom of administration to mock those predictions. Unfortunately the warning proved too prophetic. In July accounts were received, that a scarcity, approaching to famine, prevailed in the West Indies. To aggravate this evil, the negroes in Jamaica meditated an insurrection, which was prevented from laying waste the island only by a timely discovery. Our military strength in Jamaica was now insufficient for its safety; it was found necessary to detain the naval force for a month beyond the time destined for their sailing as convoy to the homeward fleet. During this time the Americans infested the seas with their cruizers, and had time to equip new privateers. The British nation lost pro-

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perty during the year to the amount of above a million sterling by these captures.

During the campaigns of 1776, we have seen the firmness of the American congress displayed, in supporting their prudent commander, and strengthening the bond of union between the confederated colonies. Relinquishing every idea of subordinate connection with the parent state, and determined to establish a permanent government, they changed the name of their country from that of the United colonies to the United states of America.[a]

Such coolness of resolution in the revolted states was the more remarkable, that they had now a

[a] The sketch of their new government was thus drawn up by the committee of constitution, in a series of resolutions.—

1. That each colony should bind itself to assist the rest, and to repel the attacks that might be made upon them on any pretence whatever.

2. That each state should possess the power of regulating its own internal government, and of making laws in all cases, provided they did not interfere with the general safety and welfare of the common cause.

3. That all negociations, alliances, and treaties, should be submitted to the consideration of the United states, assembled in general congress; and that no state in particular should infringe on the provisions of this article, on any pretence whatever.

4. That it should be criminal in any person possessing authority under the United states to accept presents, gratuities, employments, or titles, from any foreign power.

5. That no titles of nobility should be conferred by the general assembly of the United states, or the assembly of any particular state.

6. That none of the states were to form alliances or private treaties among themselves, without the consent of the United states.

7. That no duties or imposts should be established in any state, which might tend to infringe on the provisions of any treaty which the general assembly might think proper to enter into with any foreign power.

8. That no particular state was to increase its naval establishment beyond the number prescribed for each state by the general assembly: that the military establishment should be governed by the same regulation: that a well disciplined militia should be kept up in every state, adequately armed and equipped; and that the public magazines should always contain a sufficient number of field-pieces, tents, and other necessary implements of war.

9. That all officers of the rank of colonel and under should be appointed by the legislative body of each state.

10. That the expences of war should be defrayed out of the general treasury of the United states.

11. That, for constituting a public fund, for public exigencies, each of the states should contribute a sum proportioned to its own inhabitants (Indians excepted); a census of the numbers should be remitted to congress every three years.

12. That this assessment should be

new enemy to contend with. After an unsuccessful attempt to rouse the negroes of Virginia and the Carolinas in support of the royal standard, another scheme was laid for bringing the Creek and Che- CHAP. XII. 1776.

be levied by the authority of the legislative body of each state.

13. That any question submitted by a particular state to the general assembly should therein be decided without appeal.

14. That war should not be commenced without the consent of the general assembly, except where invasion or immediate danger urgently demanded.

15. That letters of marque and reprisal should only be granted by particular states after war had been declared by the general assembly.

16. That, for the general interest of the United states, each state should nominate a certain number of delegates, who should meet at at Philadelphia on the first Monday of November each year.

17. That each state could recal their delegates, and put others in their place. Each state should maintain its own delegates while they were engaged in the sittings of the general assembly, or as members of the council of state.

18. That each state should have a vote for the decision of questions in the general assembly.

19. By the 19th regulation, the general assembly were invested with the supreme duties of executive power—determination of war or peace—deciding on cases of capture, and constituting tribunals for piracy—appointing and receiving legations, negociating treaties, and especially the power of treating in all matters concerning the Indians—coining money—regulating commerce, appointing general officers, land and sea, and directing warlike operations of the army and navy.

20. That a council of state should be appointed by the general assembly, as well as committees and civil officers, who were to manage public business while they should sit. After their rising, a council of state was to officiate in place of the general assembly.

21. That the president, and other officers nominated by the general assembly, were to be invested with the right and power of fixing and raising the sums necessary for public defence—of borrowing and creating bills—of raising fleets and armies, and calling on particular states to equip for the general defence.

22. That the general assembly might call on any particular state for more than its due proportion, provided the legislative body of that state did not refuse compliance.

23. That the general assembly could exercise none of the powers specified in the 21st article, unless nine of the thirteen states should consent to it. A majority of the states was to decide on every point whatever.

24. That no delegate was to be chosen for more than three years out of six.

25. That possessors of employment, salary, or wages, should be declared ineligible as delegates.

26. That a monthly journal should be published of the proceedings of the general assembly, except such matters of information as were deemed secrets of state, and improper to be divulged in public.

These were the articles of the memorable treaty of American union, which, being prepared by the committee of constitution, and solemnly discussed in congress, were ratified and signed by all the delegates on the 4th of October 1776,

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rokee Indians to a similar alliance. The agents of the British government were accordingly dispersed among those savage tribes, and a plan was settled for their co-operation with the American loyalists. To the deep dishonour of the British name, it must be told, that in the heat and irritation of warfare such allies were resorted to, and that the cause of British supremacy was stained by the arms of such barbarians. Their aid was as inhuman as it was ineffectual. It was worse than useless; for, instead of calling forth the loyalty of such men as might have wished well to the just energy of a well-tempered authority, the sight of cruelty and devastation drew only the outcasts of society to its support. Such vengeance might intimidate the weak, but it made the bold and determined more dangerous by despair.

The Six Indian nations, allured by hopes of plunder, or stimulated by ancient enmities, broke through their solemn treaty with the states; and declaring themselves the avengers of the English, descended on the back settlements with their usual cruelty; but luckily they had neither skill nor concert to accomplish the measure of their intended barbarity. Unaccustomed to act in union, and without self-command, they sallied out impatiently in different districts, and were in all completely beaten. The Creeks were first repulsed, and obliged to sue for peace. Their allies, the Cherokees, ignorant of their fate, invited them to join forces, but received this answer from the Creeks—'*That the Cherokees had plucked the thorn out of their foot, and were welcome to keep it.*'

Not discouraged by this refusal, the Cherokees went forward till they were encountered by the militia of Virginia and Carolina, who drove them into their own country, and destroyed great numbers of their habitations. In this pursuit the Americans found, to their astonishment, among the fields and

dwellings of the natives, the traces of a cultivation which had never been suspected to have penetrated into the remote wilderness of America, and which formed a striking contrast to the untamed barbarity of their minds. The punishment of the Cherokees struck terror into the other tribes, who laid aside all their measures of hostility. CHAP. XII. 1776.

During the winter of the same year, the Americans, though obliged to relinquish their designs on Canada, still possessed Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and were masters of Lake Champlain. Against the latter places, the northern rendezvous of colonial force, the strong armament of General Carleton had been equipped, and, in spite of the fatigue of the undertaking, their boats and batteaux, to a large number, had been dragged up currents, and transported over land. Morasses, forests, and swamps, were still to be crossed by the English to arrive at Albany, the first post to the southward. It had been expected, as the reward of this labour, that they would have cleared the frontiers of Canada, opened a communication with the northern and middle colonies, and been able to co-operate with General Howe, in case of emergency.

About the beginning of October, the British armament, constructed with equal toil and alacrity, was ready to oppose the enemy on Lake Champlain. The American fleet, far inferior in strength and equipment, was opposed to this navy, under the command of Arnold (so recently distinguished for his gallantry before Quebec), to guard the passage between Valecour island and the Western Main. Captain Pringle, the British commander, though unfortunately, at the first attack his chief vessels were distanced by stress of weather, succeeded finally in forcing the American general to abandon his fleet for the sake of escaping with his forces, and to burn the most of his vessels to the

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water's edge, to avoid the disgrace of their colours being struck by the victors. Some of the enemy's fleet indeed escaped by flight to Ticonderoga. Arnold, supporting the cause with a very different spirit, fought intrepidly, till overpowered by superior force, and made good his retreat to Crown Point, a station about 15 miles distant from Ticonderoga. Thus harassed and distressed, the Americans were, however, speedily obliged to abandon Crown-Point also, and retreat to the other station. Ticonderoga, it was then supposed, would be the object of the British armament; it was said to be incapable of resisting such numbers, and Gates, the American commander, it was believed, had meant to evacuate it. But General Carleton decided otherwise; he returned from Crown Point to St. Johns, and placed his troops in winter-quarters: Isle aux Noix being the frontier post; and the cantonments extending through different parts of the country.

From the state of American affairs, the most sanguine friend of Britain could not now fail to perceive the contrast between our vast armaments and their diminutive successes, between the hopes of subduing America, which the abettors of the war had excited in the nation, and the mortifying fruits of so much bloodshed and expence. *If* popular discontent at the war was not sufficient to alarm administration, it was because the vicissitudes of succeeding battles and campaigns had wound up the feelings of the British politician to a high pitch of interest. It was a great game, in which the honour of his country was at stake; and where, to lose that stake, by the valour of American militia, was an insult to the pride of the country. The war, it is true, was wished at an end; but it must end for the glory of the British arms. Although the present campaign was unsuccessful, and though it seemed strange indeed, and revolting to the con-

ceived superiority of British troops, that the scanty forces of Washington should not be swept before the mighty army of Howe, yet another campaign would assuredly terminate the war, with all its troubles and attendant taxes. Such must have been the feelings and conclusions that kept the majority of the nation from excessive murmuring against a war, where a growing expenditure secured no increase of advantages; and where the bravery and endurance of good soldiers could lead them but to partial acquisitions. From the approaching campaign, ministers assured the country, that every thing decisively glorious would be accomplished. CHAP. XII. 1776.

In the view of such successes, the supplies of the year 1776 were granted with unsparing liberality. The supplies for the navy amounted to £3,205,005, inclusive of the sum voted for Greenwich hospital, and a million for the discharge of the navy debt. The supplies for the military establishment amounted to three millions. The extraordinaries of the preceding year had amounted to twelve hundred thousand pounds; nor were the fresh contracts for German forces, the expences of half pay, and the Chelsea hospital, included in that sum.

The Americans, while encamped amidst a tract of mountainous and strong grounds, could draw supplies to their army from a country fertile in resources, and continue the erection of forts and magazines amidst the severities of the winter, whilst the British soldiers had to endure every species of hardship, and to fight for almost every supply of forage and provision. To cut off the enemy, if possible, by incessant and bold attacks from those erections of strength and reservoirs of supply, was therefore the first object of the British commander. To harass the inferior forces of Washington still farther, every endeavour was used at the same time to draw together the American 1776-7.

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1777. loyalists into disciplined and effective bodies; a regular pay was appointed to them, and allotments of land were promised at the conclusion of the war. For the present they were embodied to a considerable amount, and attached to the main army, under the command of Governor Tryon, a loyalist, well distinguished for his zeal in recruiting them. Sanguine hopes were entertained that numbers would soon attach themselves to our standard, particularly from the province of Maryland, where, in several counties, it needed the whole exertions of congress, by arresting, imprisoning, and watching disaffected inhabitants, to smother the spirit of insurrection.

In the tract we have already mentioned as the chief station of the American army, the strongest position was called the manor of Courland. The harbour of this place, about 50 miles up the north river from New York, which bore the name of Peek's hill, was the first point to which the British commander determined to turn his attacks, as a preliminary to over-running the whole of its interior

March. territory. A detachment of the 15th regiment under Colonel Bird, successfully performed this service; but, though considerable stores of the enemy were destroyed, the importance of the place appeared to have been over-rated.

For the same purpose, of weakening the enemy, by the destruction of their posts and magazines, Danbury and other places on the confines of the manor of Courland were successively attempted. The post of Danbury was carried by a force of two thousand men, under the command of the newly-created general Tryon, who was guided, however, in his operations, by the surer experience of General Agnew and Sir William Erskine. Proceeding from New York in transports, by the East river, as far as Camp's point, and thence marching forward to Dan-

bury, this detachment found an enemy unprepared to receive them; they burnt a valuable store of provisions, which fell into their hands, but which, for want of carriages, could not be brought away. For their deficiency in defending Danbury, the enemy made amends by their spirited conduct at Ridgefield, a town through which our troops had to pass after burning their plunder, and where Arnold assembled some troops, and threw up entrenchments. These entrenchments, it is true, were forced by a brisk charge of our soldiers; but successive reinforcements coming to the enemy's aid, they hung on the retreat of the British, as they withdrew to their transports, with so much perseverance, that our loss amounting to 200 men, seemed more than to counterbalance the success of the expedition. The detachment, harassed and exhausted, was only saved from entire route by a vigorous charge, conducted by Sir William Erskine, at the head of the few men whose strength survived this fatiguing service. CHAP. XII. 1777.

On the 12th of April, Lord Cornwallis, with a considerable detachment, surprised the enemy's posts at Bondwick, seven miles from Brunswick, where the American general Clinton was stationed with about 1,200 men.

On the 19th of the same month, an attempt was made by General Vaughan, with the garrison of Amboy, to cut off the enemy's advanced posts at Woodbridge, but without success. On the 8th of May, the 42d regiment of Highlanders fought a furious engagement with 2,000 Americans under General Stevens, who fell on them at Piscataway, and repulsed their numerous assailants with great slaughter.

Colonel Meigs, a most active American leader, and trained up under Arnold, understanding that Saggy harbour, in Long island, was remissly guarded, and protected only by a schooner of 12 guns, undertook to surprise the place, and destroy

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Colonel Meigs, a most active American leader, and trained up under Arnold, understanding that Saggy harbour, in Long island, was remissly guarded, and protected only by a schooner of 12 guns, undertook to surprise the place, and destroy

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all the shipping it contained. The colonel, with his detachment, traversed the sound in whale boats, and, after carrying the boats over an arm of land, embarked again, and landed on the south branch of the island. They surprised the place at day-break, and, in spite of the firing of the schooner, as well as of several merchantmen in the harbour, succeeded in securing 90 English prisoners, burning the wharf, and a number of vessels from which they were taken.

About the latter end of May, General Washington relinquished his encampment at Morristown, and removed to a strong place called Middlebroop. Here, in the security of mountains, entrenchments, and artillery, on ground of difficult access, and overlooking every motion of the British on the Brunswick hills, and also between Brunswick and Amboy, he had a fertile country in his rear, and, if circumstances should demand, a safe retreat over the Hudson and Delaware rivers.

June. When the field equipage, and other supplies, with a fresh reinforcement of troops, had arrived in June from England, Sir William Howe crossed from New-York to the Jerseys, with the design of opening the summer campaign. Aware of the strength of Washington's situation, he sought rather to tempt him to leave the vantage ground, and hazard a battle, than to assail him in his present position. For this purpose, he affected to make a precipitate retreat from Brunswick and Amboy. For a moment the cool judgment of Washington seems to have been deluded, so far as to believe that the retreat was real. The American generals Maxwell, Conway, and Lord Stirling, were detached in pursuit of the British, and Washington himself advanced to Quibbleton to support them. Seeing the enemy thus withdrawn from his fastnesses, Sir William Howe ordered Lord Cornwallis immedi-

ately to attempt the seizure of the passages in the mountains, and separate the Americans from their encampment on the hills. In pursuing these orders, Lord Cornwallis was encountered by the Americans under their generals Maxwell and Stirling. The action which ensued, though the British behaved with irresistible valour, and routed the enemy with the loss of 200 men, had no other effect than to warn Washington of his error in removing from Quibbleton, and induce him to regain his strong position on the mountains, among the passes which had been destined by Howe for the occupation of the British. The commander in chief, now hopeless of drawing Washington to a pitched battle, retired from the Jerseys, and recrossed by Amboy to Staten island. For retiring in this manner before an enemy inferior in strength, and for consuming so much time at this important stage of the war, without bringing Washington to battle, the conduct of General Howe has been severely censured. It is asserted by the accusers of his conduct, that his own plan of the campaign had been sanctioned by ministers, which was to penetrate with the main body of the army into Pennsylvania by way of the Jerseys. He made expensive preparations for crossing the Delaware, without making use of them. He has been no less blamed for not making circuitous marches to attack the rear of his enemy. If the enemy's posts were so strong as to be in his opinion impregnable, why (it is asked) did he not intercept their convoys, and reduce them by famine, or cross the Delaware, and destroy their posts and magazines? Such a conduct, it was asserted, must have brought Washington to a battle, or oblige him to sacrifice the most important city in North America.

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The British troops, amounting to 36 battalions, embarked on the 5th of July, on board the trans-

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ports, where they continued, both horse and foot, pent up till the 23d, and then sailed from Sandy-hook to the capes of the Delaware. Seventeen battalions, a regiment of light horse, and the new provincial forces, were left at New-York, under General Clinton, and several battalions were left at Rhode island. On the 30th, General Howe reached the capes of the Delaware; but learning that the enemy had impeded the navigation of the river, proceeded to Chisapeak bay, and landed at the head of the Elk on the 24th of August, after a passage most unwholesome to the British troops. The first motion of the British vanguard, from their head-quarters at the head of the Elk, was to dislodge the enemy from a post called Ironhill, five miles distant, and commanding a view of the Delaware. On the 11th, the whole army marched forward, after being joined by the forces of Generals Grant and Knyphausen; an advance which obliged Washington to withdraw beyond the river Brandywine, purposing to cover Philadelphia. By these means an important action was brought on. General Cornwallis, making a circuit of some miles, crossed the forks of the Brandywine, attempting to gain the enemy's rear. Knyphausen advanced in front to cross the river at Chad's ford, and carried the entrenchments which had been formed to defend it. The American commander, at the same time menaced by Cornwallis, who, advanced on his right wing, took post on the heights above Birmingham church, with his left towards the Brandywine, and woods on his flanks; our men rushed forwards with great impetuosity; the Americans rallied once, but, after the second rout, fled in different directions. Washington, with numbers much diminished, reached Philadelphia. Three hundred of the enemy were killed in the battle of Brandywine, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken prisoners; while

Sept. 13.

the British lost but 100 killed, and 400 wounded. Among the enemy's officers who most distinguished their valour, in opposing the charge of our countrymen on that important day, was the celebrated marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman, who, full of romantic enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, had left Paris at the age of 19, in a ship which he purchased and freighted at his own expence, for the sake of presenting it to congress, along with the offer of his sword and service in their army. CHAP. XII. 1777.

Washington, after recruiting his defeated troops as well as possible at Philadelphia, proceeded up the north side of the Schuylkill, which he crossed, and passed on the road to Lancaster. By the battle of Brandywine, it was expected that the retreat of Washington to Philadelphia might have been cut off; but for reasons which, by the public, were not thought satisfactory, General Howe made only slight movements, unimportant in their effects to the British cause.

It was understood, in the meantime, that the Americans, under General Wayne, had concealed themselves to the number of 1,500 in the woods, for the sake of harassing the rear of our army. In the enterprise which was undertaken to surprise and defeat this body, an admirable display of skill and energy was made by Major-general Grey. Proceeding at night with no weapon but the fixed bayonet, he brought his men into the enemy's encampment, killed or wounded 300, and took 100 prisoners, with the loss of only eight men; the rest of Wayne's division, however, escaped with their baggage. Sept. 20.

On the 23d of September, Sir William Howe having secured the command of the Schuylkill, passed that river with his whole army. Germantown and Philadelphia thus fell into the hands of the British without dispute. Such possessions were

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highly important for the command of the Delaware; but hitherto the communication down that river with the fleet was not open. As the Delaware is navigable to Philadelphia, the congress, whose residence had been in that city, until it was taken by Sir William Howe, very early endeavoured to make it inaccessible to the British fleet, by chevaux de frize sunk in the channel, and bastions of artillery on Mud island, as well as a water-force of floating batteries, fire-ships, and galleys. Some partial reduction of this defence had been effected already by three regiments of the British, and a naval force, stationed on that quarter. When Lord Howe arrived in the Delaware, he had learnt of the British success at Brandywine; and quitting the capes of Virginia on the 23d of September, arrived and came to anchor on the 8th of October, between Newcastle and Reedy island.

Before this time, however, the American works were much increased, so that approaches of the British were made with difficulty and danger; and a spirited movement was made by Washington, in the hopes of relieving the American works on the Delaware, by surprising our encampment at Germantown. On the evening of the 4th of October, he brought on his troops to this enterprise, in five columns, and attacked the 40th regiment (who defended the village) about break of day. Colonel Musgrave, who commanded that regiment, though finding it broken by superior force, threw himself into a large stone building, and, in spite of the musketry and cannonading of the enemy, impeded their career till the other troops got under arms. The engagement soon grew warm and general; the right wing of the British at last came to close charge, and forced the provincial troops to give way, who, under the favour of a thick fog, retreated with all their ar-

Action at Germantown.

tillery. Few actions of more bloodshed were fought during the war; 600 of the royal army were killed or wounded in the battle of Germantown, among whom were General Agnew and Colonel Bird. On the American side above a thousand men were killed, wounded, or taken. General Nash and a number of officers were among their slain. After so important an effort of Washington had been foiled, if the Delaware had been speedily cleared, and a bold attempt made to surround or bring to battle the inferior forces of the enemy, an end might have been put to the war, or, at least, its most disastrous issue might have been averted. But the presiding intelligence in the British army embraced humbler views, and seemed satisfied with any success that parried immediate defeat. Colonel Stirling, an officer already distinguished for his activity in assaulting the provincial works in the Delaware, sought permission to seize on Red-bank, a most important position; but his request was not granted. The Americans saw this blunder, and now took advantage of it, by seizing and fortifying the place.

On the 19th of October, the British removed from Germantown to the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, as a better station for reducing the forts on the river; it being now evident that, unless Mud island was reduced, and a free passage obtained for supplies to the troops, our army could not hold Philadelphia during the winter. The works of Red-bank were first attempted. For this service a very gallant officer from the German auxiliaries, Colonel Donop, was selected, who led his Hessian grenadiers and some other German regiments through the extensive outworks of Red-bank, and, under the tremendous and near discharges of their guns, drove the enemy within the redoubt. But here the utmost gallantry

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was unavailing. The redoubt, on coming up to it, was found to be eight feet high, boarded and frized; no scaling ladders had been sent with the assailants; and the remainder of this unfortunate band, who escaped the close fire of the Americans, left their commander and some of their best officers wounded, and in the hands of the enemy.

This was not the only disaster at this time. By a movement of the fleet up the river it was intended to make a diversion in favour of the land attack. Accordingly, as soon as Donop's attack commenced, four ships and a sloop proceeded with the flood-tide; but the course of the river being altered by artificial obstructions, two vessels, the Augusta and Merlin, ran aground; the Merlin was abandoned and destroyed by her own crew, who all escaped; but the Augusta, unfortunately catching fire, some part of her crew met with the dreadful fate of perishing in the flames.

On a neighbouring station, called Mud island, the provincials had considerable works, which were of difficult access, from the swampy nature of the ground. The British batteries were, however, opened on the 10th of November. Five days after this, the Vigilant armed ship, followed by a hulk (both of them mounted with heavy cannon), got into a narrow channel, between two small adjacent islands, which approached the weakest point of the fort. Some large ships and frigates[3] sailed at the same time by the main channel, and, cannonading the fort in front, obliged the garrison to abandon their works. A detachment under Lord Cornwallis now arriving, to attack the redoubt at Red-bank, it was also abandoned; and the Americans, after burning their whole water force, except a few galleys that escaped to the Jersey shore, left the Delaware clear to our possession.

[3] The Isis, Somerset, and Roebuck.

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Washington having acquired a reinforcement of 4000 men from the northern army, left Shippach-creek, and drew nearer to the British lines, encamping at White-marsh, about 14 miles from Philadelphia, with a valley and rivulet in his front, and with an abbatis of felled trees on the south and east sides of his army. General Howe, in hopes that he would now risk an engagement, marched from Philadelphia on the night of the 4th of December, and next morning took post at Chesnut hill, opposite the right wing of his antagonist. For two days he offered battle to the Americans, but in vain; only a skirmish could be effected in front of the lines, by a detachment of the enemy, who were speedily driven back. On the 6th, the British commander moved towards their left wing, but still they kept within their lines, and nothing was effected, except repulsing one of their outposts, by a vigorous movement of a column under General Grey. Sir William Howe, after examining the wings and centre of Washington's position, &c. judged it imprudent to attack him, and retired to Philadelphia. The Americans kept prudently within their lines, glad, it was supposed, to find no attempt was to be made on their encampment; for, had the British moved round to attack their rear, all their baggage and provisions, it was believed, would have been cut off. Washington recrossed the Schuylkill, and took post at Vally-forge, 26 miles from Philadelphia. His army, with incredible labour, drew partial entrenchments around their winter quarters; the Schuylkill was on their left, and on their rear an impassable precipice. Their camp was in many parts accessible; their accommodations were wretched huts, built with their own hands; mortality raged in their hospitals; their horses perished by famine and cold; the men were almost naked; sickness and privation diminished their

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numbers, and would have made them an easy prey to the enemy, had not that great and judicious spirit presided over their fortunes, which is never put to its true test, but by braving circumstances so severely adverse. It is here that the greatness of Washington is more seen than in the moment of his triumphs: this occasion was the ordeal and touchstone of his talents. By his influence over indisciplined soldiers, he restrained their discontents, and kept them to his standard, so as to present at all times a formidable front to their superior enemy. Thus had our partial successes at Long island, at Brandywine, at Whitemarsh, and at Valleyforge, led the way to what alone could have crushed the rebellion of the Americans, a general action with their grand army, and a victory over Washington. The clearing of the Delaware, and the possession of Philadelphia, were, however, all the fruits of this campaign; acquisitions which indeed were valuable in a secondary point of view, but only important in proportion to the use that was made of them. The revolt of a great country can no more be suppressed by a war of posts and skirmishes, than a great conflagration can be extinguished by treading on the embers which it throws out. With the odds of numbers, intrepidity, and discipline, in favour of the assailing army, it should have seemed no rashness, in circumstances such as we have seen, to have struck at the heart of American power, by the first opening that led to Washington's army. Defeat could scarcely be more pernicious than allowing the rebellion to acquire, by this winter armistice, another season of repose for growth, strength, and confirmation; and, great as the talents of Washington were, courageous as the republican soldiers might be, it does not seem that either the genius of the leader, nor the valour of his men, were, in close

combat, a match for British veterans. It was in desultory warfare that American troops were most effective; it was in the wary tactics of retreat, and choice of defensive position, that generalship could best assist them. When a battle was brought on, the practical steadiness of our troops had its full influence. The entrenchments of Washington, it does not appear, were insurmountable; his winter position at Valleyforge was by no means impregnable. CHAP. XII. 1777.

While the hardihood of the colonial troops was put to the severest trial in their hutted encampment at Valleyforge, Sir William Howe, with the British forces, spent the winter in Philadelphia, issuing proclamations and offers of pardon to the disaffected, on condition of their joining his standard; but, at the same time, disgusting the best friends of the British cause, by permitting vice and irregularity to prevail in his army. The Philadelphians are generally quakers, men of respectable ancestry, and, like their forefathers, remarkable for austerely virtuous principles. It would have been wise to have conciliated those men, by reverence even for their prejudices; but it was worse than folly to make them irrecoverably enemies, by insulting their just decorum, and committing outrage on their property. The military, who lived at free quarters among them, turned the sober abodes of the Philadelphians into gaming-houses and scenes of dissipation; and even officers had the indelicacy to introduce their mistresses into families of the first distinction.

If the war in the south languished by inactive measures, it was prosecuted on the side of Canada, and the northern lakes, with an energy that seemed worthy of better success. But the circumstances of the two armies were entirely different. What would have been scarcely boldness in the

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commander in chief, whose numbers were strong, and whose resources were respectable, was presumptuous and precipitate in Burgoyne, who had but half the force of the other commander, whose route was through a desert country, and of whose army at least one half were inactive and heavy armed Germans, or Indians, who came to war as to a plundering party, and deserted their associates at the first dawning of disappointment. The command of the expedition on the lakes, it was expected, would have fallen to Sir Guy Carleton, from his long residence and acknowledged influence in Canada, and his knowledge of the adjacent places that were to be the theatre of the war; but the choice of ministers fixed upon General Burgoyne, who left the ranks of opposition in parliament, to conduct one of the most arduous enterprizes that was ever entrusted to a British commander. His army amounted to 7,173 men (exclusive of the artillery), a force nearly equal to what he had himself demanded. His officers, of whom the most eminent were Generals Phillips, Fraser, Powel, Hamilton, Reidesel, and Specht, were choice and experienced. Canada was to furnish forces for guarding the woods and frontiers, completing the forts, and conducting the stores, baggage, and artillery. Colonel St. Leger, with 7 or 800 light troops and Indians, was detached by Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river, to make a diversion in favour of the main army; and thus prepared, General Burgoyne set out for St. John's on the 16th June 1777. A considerable naval force, under Commodore Lutwych, having preceded the army, the troops were landed, about the middle of June, at a small distance from Crown Point, and in a short time proceeded to Ticonderoga. At the former place, Burgoyne thought proper to assemble the Indians under his banners, and

treat them, in compliment to the custom of their country, with a war-feast. This custom, in its original Indian simplicity, is meant, on the eve of warfare, to typify that luxury of revenge which their arms are taken up to obtain; and, on the successful issue of an expedition, is a real banquet of immolation, at which the war-kettle is set to boil with their prisoners, for the feast of the triumphant party. It could not be supposed that an enlightened officer of Europe meant directly to sanction the feelings and practice of barbarity, by complimenting this usage of the savages; on the contrary, he concluded the solemnity by haranguing his auxiliary Indians on the virtues of mercy and forbearance. Neither is the original blame of employing savages imputable to General Burgoyne; his orders to that effect came from home. In excuse for the measure itself, it was urged, that, if we failed to seize on the alliance of tribes so useful on such a theatre of war, the Americans would have gained them over: it was urged also, that France had used them in former wars, and their service had not been held as a breach of the law of nations. But, if France used them, it is well known what execration was excited by several massacres of our own garrisons, yet on record, which should have served as a warning against similar enormities, not as a precedent or pretext for renewing them. With regard to America making use of Indians, the supposition is not impossible; but, if this fear was entertained, the first step that became a civilized people was to attempt at least, by mutual agreement, that such abominable aid should be resorted to by neither party. Burgoyne talked of mercy to the savages; but to the revolted Americans he held no language but that of threat and denunciation. He alluded to his Indian aid, as the means of terrible chastisement on all who should

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oppose the British standard. His manifesto and war-feast did no good either to the personal reputation of Burgoyne, or the interests of his sovereign. Other sentiments than those of loyal submission were infused into the colonists, by threatening them with the scalping-knife and the tomahawk. As to the war-banquet, it presents to the mind a scene extremely ridiculous, were it not so nearly allied to disgust, to conceive a groupe of Indian cannibals listening gravely to the homily of Burgoyne on terms of sentimental morality, which no interpreter could translate to them.—'It was *unmuzzling the dogs of war, and bidding them spare blood.*' The army having made a short stay at Crown-point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessary services, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to invest Ticonderoga, which was the first object of their destination. Ticonderoga lies on the western shore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown-point lies about 12 miles farther north, at the extremity of that inlet. The first of these places is situated on an angle of land, which is surrounded on three sides by water, and fortified by high rocks. A great part of the fourth side was covered by a deep morass, and, where that morass ended, the old French lines still continued as a defence on the north-west quarter. The Americans strengthened these lines with additional works, and a block-house. They had other posts, with works and block-houses, on the left, towards Lake George. To the right of the French lines they had also additional works. On the eastern shore, and opposite to Ticonderoga, they had fortified a high circular hill, called Mount Independence, with a star-fort on the summit, and entrench-

ments at the bottom, which were covered by a battery midway up the mountain. The whole place was furnished with abundance of heavy artillery. Over the inlet there was a bridge of communication, laboriously constructed, to unite these two posts. It was supported by 22 sunken piers, in the equal spaces of which floats of 50 feet long, and twelve in breadth, were attached by chains. The bridge on the side of Lake Champlain, a timber boom of rivetted bolts, and double chains of iron, strengthened the communication, and barred all access to the enemy on the northern side. The inlet, after passing Ticonderoga, assumes a new form; it grows wider and deeper, so that it bears the name of Lake Champlain, though it is not properly a part of that water. On the other hand, the southern gut from Lake George is narrow and innavigable, but is joined at Ticonderoga by a great body of water, called South river. The confluence of these waters forms a small bay to the southward of the bridge of communication, and the point of land at their junction is a mountain, called Sugar hill. Unfortunately for the defence of Ticonderoga, this hill commands and overlooks it. Had the Americans possessed 10 or 12,000 men, it would have been possible to have fortified the mountain, in the same manner as the other posts of Ticonderoga; but, as General S^t^. Clair, who commanded then at Ticonderoga, had not above 3000 men, to have drafted a force for that purpose would have exposed the other places to weakness, and the men to insupportable fatigue. There was, therefore, no hope of retaining this station, but in its difficult access and savage inequality of surface.

S^t^. Clair's defence of Ticonderoga does not accord with the usual sagacity of the Americans in their defensive positions, and the issue was entirely

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disastrous. Sugar-hill, as might have been expected, was one of the first objects of the British. The whole of the royal armament, with the fleet in the centre, and the army in separate divisions on either shore of the lake, having proceeded to Ticonderoga, drove the Americans from their outer works on the 2d of July, and took possession of an advantageous post, called Mount Hope; and thus the enemy's communication with Lake St. George was cut off. Within a few days a road was effected by our troops to the top of Sugar hill, and the erection of a battery far advanced, through the spirit and activity of the commanding officer, General Phillips. The Americans, thus menaced on both sides of their works, held a council of war, who pronounced their position to be no longer tenable, and decided on immediate retreat. Their resolution was probably the best that could be now taken; but it put their past labours, in fortifying all the place but the height which commanded it, in an absurd point of view; and the first sentiment which their conduct excited, was surprise that they had waited so long, and spent so much pains, on bringing matters to this necessary issue. The importance of Sugar hill was an obvious fact, and not a discovery; they knew their own deficiency in numbers, and, by timely retreat, might have saved such a proportion of cannon and stores as, by falling into the hands of the British, made their retreat scarcely less ruinous than a surrender. The council, which decided on immediate retreat from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, was held on the 5th, and the places were accordingly evacuated on the night of that day. Their baggage, provisions, and such stores as time would permit them to take away, were embarked in 200 batteaux, and dispatched up the south river to Skenesborough. The army set off for the same place by

land. The first day-light of the 6th of July discovered their retreat; our land troops were immediately under arms to pursue them, and the sailors under Commodore Lutwych, with great activity, cleared the way for following them by water. That bridge, and those works, which the Americans had laboured hard for almost a year to render impenetrable, the British seamen and artificers broke through between the dawn of day and nine in the morning. A force of frigates and gun-boats immediately passed; and so keen was the pursuit by water, that, by three o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Carter, with his foremost brigade of gun-boats, was closely engaged with the enemy's galleys near Skenesborough falls. General Burgoyne, with the main army, attended this naval force. In the meantime, three regiments, which had been landed at South-bay, passed over some high ground, and attacked the enemy's works at the falls, with a view to cut off their retreat; but their speedy flight prevented the execution of the design. Their galleys, overpowered by the British gun-boats, were either taken or burnt. The Americans, giving way to despair, set fire to their works and batteaux, and, escaping as well as they could to Wood creek, were now left destitute in the woods, without resources or provisions, and without any other means of defence than what they derived from the arms in their hands. CHAP. XII. 1777.

During these operations by water, Brigadier-general Fraser, at the head of the advanced corps of grenadiers and light infantry, pursued the rear of that division of the enemy, which had taken the route of Hubberton, and continued the pursuit through the vehement heat of a burning day. Having at last received intelligence that their chosen troops and marksmen were at no great distance, and were commanded by Colonel Francis, one of

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merican force did not exceed 4,400 fighting men, including militia. The American commander[4] had posted himself at Fort Edward. On the advance of the royal army, he retreated down Hudson's river to Saratoga, where he issued a proclamation calculated to counteract the effect of Burgoyne's. As soon as the British troops had secured Skenesborough, the active and useful General Phillips returned to Lake George to transport the artillery, provisions, and baggage, over the lake to Fort George, and from thence, by land, to Fort Edward, on Hudson's river, together with a large number of boats and batteaux for the use of the army, in the intended descent to Albany. It was during the execution of this proper movement, that the troops were proceeding by land, on the route we have mentioned, and for the same destination. For what reason the soldiers were not entrusted to the same secure and easy mode of conveyance with their baggage and artillery, does not appear, unless we admit of General Burgoyne's apology for toiling by land instead of being wafted by water, that it would have damped the ardour of the troops to have returned to Lake George from pursuing the enemy. The strength of the army was, however, even by his own account of matters, sacrificed for the sake of preserving its spirit; for, by returning down the south river to Fort George, at the end of the lake of that name, they would have encountered neither perils nor fatigue, and, at Fort George, would have found a waggon-road to Fort-Edward. Whether the spirits of the army were much increased by the glory of pursuing an enemy by land, under a burning sun, and through distresses of every description, seems a great deal more doubtful than the facility of having brought them to Fort Edward by a safer route.

[4] Schuyler was commander in chief of the northern American army.

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On the approach of the royal army, the enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga. Our troops, from the various impediments in their march, did not accomplish this journey before the end of July. The army was immediately employed in transporting their artillery and batteaux, for the prosecution of their future operations, from Fort George to Hudson's river.

Whatever error in military tactics might be imputed to the provincials, as the cause of their present disasters, the praise of firmness is at least due to their government in their efforts to repel Burgoyne. The New-England states, in particular, though most immediately menaced, kept up a bold countenance, under the apprehensions of the common danger. Arnold, who had lately been distinguished at the engagement of Danbury, was immediately sent to the reinforcement of the northern army, with a train of artillery, which he received from Washington. On his arrival, he drew the American troops back from Saratoga to Stillwater, a central situation between that place and the mouth of the Mohawk, where it falls into Hudson's river. His movement was intended to check the progress of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing on the Mohawk. The outrages of Burgoyne's Indians, in spite of the general's exhortations to mercy, continued to mark their warfare with the accustomed traces of barbarity, and tended, in no small degree, by exasperating the spirit of the country, to fill the ranks of General Arnold. No efforts were wanting on the part of the revolutionary leaders to inflame the indignation and aggravate the terror, excited by those atrocities, of themselves too fertile a topic for declamation. That spirit of disaffection which might have shrunk appalled from the dignified aspect of regular and discriminating justice, gathered strength from

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despair, at the bare alarm of Indian massacres. It made but little difference in the real effects that were produced, whether every tale of horror was strictly true, which was spread abroad respecting the excesses of the savages. Their approach was known; their custom of warfare was indelibly stamped on the public memory. That they should come into the houses of the disaffected, and, in their usual practice, put all to death, without distinction of age or sex, was a punishment too dreadful for even treason to endure; much less was it sufferable that barbarians, ignorant of our language, and incapable of distinguishing guilt from innocence, should be the judges of the loyalty or disloyalty of those who fell into their hands. Horror and indignation drew out the people in multitudes to repel those invaders. Too much stress cannot be laid on the impolicy of using such instruments, even in the punishment of rebellion. It was a circumstance which cannot possibly be omitted, in enumerating the causes of our losing America. But it was much worse than that; it was an outrage on the laws of God and humanity, more to be deprecated than the loss of empire itself.

Thus, an army of the provincials was poured forth from the woods and mountains, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage, and, when their regular army seemed to be entirely wasted, the spirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force. At the same time the army of Burgoyne found their difficulties increase, in proportion as they advanced. From the end of July to the middle of August their toil in bringing forward batteaux, provisions, and ammunition, towards Hudson's river, was immense, and the success in no degree corres-

pondent to their pains. The supplies from Canada failed from different causes. With all his industry, the general could scarcely collect 50 teams of oxen in all the country through which he had marched; and, upon the whole, his resources were so far from being adequate to the current supply of his army, and the establishment of magazines, that, after 15 days of incessant fatigue to the troops, only four days provisions were in store. CHAP. XII. 1777.

In this distress, the commander learned, that Colonel St. Leger had arrived at Stanwick, and laid siege to it. The propriety of attempting a junction with the colonel became evident, since, by trying to oppose such a junction, the Americans were likely to be drawn to a general battle, or, by permitting it, would be forced to leave the combined army in possession of a full and favourable choice of positions, and at liberty to select its future line of operations. But the movement was much more desirable than easy; it required the maintenance of a communication with Fort George, for the sake of supplies, and when the army should be far advanced in stretching towards the corps of St. Leger, it supposed a chain of posts to be established, which must necessarily be weak from their number, and liable to be broken by every advanced body of the enemy. Some other source of supply was, therefore, to be sought. A prospect of this advantage seemed to open, when it was understood that a plentiful depôt of the rebel army, abounding in corn, cattle, and other stores, with appropriate conveniencies, lay at Bennington, a place 20 miles to the eastward of Hudson's river, and situate between the forks of the Hosick river.

The British general imparted his eager purpose of obtaining this place, and the task of surprising it fell to Colonel Baum, of the German brigade.

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The force allotted to this service amounted to about 600 men, accompanied by two light pieces of artillery. Of these troops the greater part were Germans, who, from their native tardiness in motion, and their heavy accoutrements, were peculiarly unfit for an expedition so much requiring celerity. Baum was a brave officer, but so totally unacquainted with the country, the language, and the people, that, when bands of men appeared in arms in his neighbourhood, he could with difficulty get information whether they were friends or foes.

To facilitate the operations of Baum, and to be ready to take advantage of his eventual success, the army moved up the east shore of Hudson's river, where they encamped, nearly opposite to Saratoga. They then constructed a bridge of rafts across the water, by which the advanced corps were passed to that place. At the same time Lieutenant-colonel Brigman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, were posted, so as to be ready to march in support of Baum, should the occasion require.

On the second day of their march, Colonel Baum's division captured some cattle, and routed a small body of the enemy, near a village called Cambridge. But the same fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, viz. the want of horses and carriages, concurred with the badness of the roads in rendering Baum's advance so tedious, that the enemy were well informed of his approach, and prepared for his reception. In this slow manner he advanced as far as Walloon creek, a few miles from Bennington, where, being confirmed in the intelligence, that the enemy were assembling from all quarters to the defence of Bennington, he took a good post near Santoick mills, and transmitted at the same time an express to the general with an account of his perilous situation. Colonel Brig-

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Baum was accordingly ordered to proceed with 500 Germans to his relief. The American general, Starke, who commanded the native militia at Bennington, determined not to wait for the junction of the two advancing parties, and, in the morning of the 16th of August, whilst Brigman was yet struggling with the difficulties of his march, proceeded to attack Baum in his post. He found him intrenched and secured as well as the time and nature of the place would permit. The German officer was at first persuaded by the loyalists who attended him, that the approaching militia were friends hastening to his standard; but soon discovering his error, by the furious assault of Starke, he made a brave resistance. The savages who had accompanied Baum behaved in a shameful manner, retreating at the commencement of the engagement. For upwards of an hour the unfortunate Germans resisted and returned the fire of the Americans, and several times drove them from the high ground on which they were stationed; but the numbers of Starke increasing every moment, and Colonel Baum having lost his artillery, his troops were under the necessity of escaping into the woods, leaving their brave commander mortally wounded on the field of battle.

Brigman, who had the hard fortune not to receive the smallest information of this engagement, arrived near the same ground on the evening of this inauspicious day, where, instead of meeting the friends he had expected, he was assaulted by a victorious enemy. His troops, though severely fatigued, behaved with uncommon resolution, and kept their ground till all their ammunition was expended. Overpowered by numbers, they were at last obliged to abandon their two pieces of artillery, and, favoured by the approach of night, they escaped from entire extermination.

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The loss of men in these two engagements amounted to 600 men. But the loss of reputation, or, rather, of that confidence in which our men had hitherto disregarded superiority of numbers, formed a still more fatal era in the war. The northern militia were now flushed with triumph at being able to shew the artillery of British and German veterans dragged as trophies of their victory. This was the greatest turn of fortune in favour of the Americans, in the northern war, since some time before the death of Montgomery. It was the first instance in the present campaign of absolute defeat to the royal standard. The exultation of the victors, and the discouragement of the vanquished, took place at a period peculiarly unfavourable for the latter to receive even a momentary check. Immediately after the defeat of Colonel Baum, and the retreat of Brigman, the royal army, which had advanced to Saratoga, drew back. General St. Leger's little army was, during this time, engaged in the attack of Fort Stanwix, a small square log-fort, with four bastions, and a stockaded covered way, without any other outworks. It was defended by 700 men under the colonels Ganswert and Willet. The commencement of the siege was signalized by a piece of success which might have been expected to decide the fate of a stronger place. The besieging commander, being informed that General Harkemer was marching at the head of 800 or 900 men, for the relief of the fort, St. Leger detached some regulars, and a body of his savages, to lie in ambush for them in the woods that skirted
Aug. 6. their march. Sir John Johnson, who commanded this detachment, conducted the ambuscade so skillfully, that the enemy plunged blindly into the snare, and, without being prepared, or in order of battle, were overwhelmed with a well-directed

fire, after which the savages rushed from their ambush, and made a dreadful butchery with their spears and hatchets. The enemy retreated, however, from this situation, with less dismay and disorder than the sudden slaughter and horrible aspect of their executioners might have been expected to produce. They made sufficient resistance to recover an advantageous ground, and were thus enabled to maintain a running fight, by which one third of their number was preserved. Their loss amounted to 400 killed, and about half that number made prisoners. The savages, while they essentially contributed to the victory, were also among the severest sufferers of the victorious forces, and, among the slain and wounded, were many of their most distinguished warriors. In the true spirit of barbarian troops, they began to grow impatient of a war in which the prospect of plunder was uncertain, and their triumphs purchased by hard and incessant service. Their loss, on this occasion, rendered them sullen and untractable, and the unhappy prisoners were the first objects on which they could wreak their ferocity, the most of whom they butchered in cold blood.

On the day of this action, the garrison of Fort Stanwix, by a vigorous sally under Colonel Willet, did considerable mischief to the British camp, and carried off some useful, as well as honourable, trophies of success. The same officer, attended by only one companion, afterwards undertook a much more perilous expedition. He passed by night through the besiegers' camp, and, in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the savages, made his way for 50 miles through pathless woods and morasses, to raise the neighbouring people, and bring relief to the fort. Colonel St. Leger left no means untried to profit by his strength, and

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strike terror into the garrison. He represented to them, that Burgoyne had reached Albany, and, as a conqueror, was now receiving the submission of the people, wherever he went; that their situation was hopeless; and, if they fell into his hands after a longer struggle, that they must expect to experience from the Indians that cruelty which it would be soon impossible to deprecate. As the only measure of preservation, he exhorted them to trust to his clemency, and make a timely surrender. The American governor Ganswert answered with firmness, that his duty was not to consult the consequences of resistance, but to maintain it, and to keep possession of the post which his country had assigned to him. St. Leger accordingly renewed his efforts in the siege, but found, as his artillery was too light to make an impression by distant battery, that his only hope consisted in making close approaches to the place.

Aug. 22. In the meantime, the Indians under his command grew more and more untractable. While their impatience was gaining ground, an American belonging to the fort purposely conveyed himself into the British camp, and declared, that he had escaped, at the hazard of his life, to warn the commander, that General Arnold, with 2,000 men, and 10 pieces of cannon, was advancing rapidly to raise the siege. He added to this report, that Burgoyne had been defeated, and his army cut to pieces. The colonel, though himself incredulous of the relation, was unable to appease the panic which it struck among his Indians. He called a council of their chiefs; he flattered their pride, by consulting them, and endeavoured to soothe their fears, by under-rating the danger. But a part of his Indian allies decamped, while the council was sitting, and the rest threatened to abandon him, if he did not instantly raise the siege.

His retreat was, therefore, compelled; it was indeed rather a flight than a retreat; his tents, artillery, and stores, being left behind. It was reported also, that his treacherous auxiliaries lightened the troops of some part of the baggage, which they were able to bring off, by robbing the officers and soldiers of whatever articles they took a liking to. The report that put to flight the savages, though exaggerated, was not untrue. Arnold, having advanced up the Mohawk river with 2,000 men, for the relief of Fort Stanwix, with 900 of that force actually reached it two days after the besiegers had decamped; so that the Indians probably escaped a chastisement that would not have been tenderly administered. CHAP. XII. 1777. Aug. 24.

It may be easily imagined with what hopes and confidence the enemy hailed this renewal of their good fortunes. Their confidence was not lessened by the circumstance of General Gates, in whose abilities his countrymen justly placed great reliance, coming to take the place of Arnold, in the chief command. Not that the talents of Arnold were undervalued, but because he was left at liberty, by the arrival of his friend and rival in glory, to direct his energy wherever his presence could be useful.

General Burgoyne was, during these events, endeavouring, on the eastern shore of Hudson's river, to collect provisions from Fort George. Having at last, with incredible labour, collected a store for 30 days, he crossed Hudson's river on the 13th of September, and, on the 19th, advanced to Saratoga, in front of the American army, who lay at Still-Water. His approach was made with slowness and difficulty, by reason of the bad roads and the heavy pieces of artillery which he brought in his train.

By this bold and forward movement, it was the object of the British general to force a passage

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into Albany. The principles of his conduct in this, and his subsequent operations, seem to have been explained by the commander on the ground of severe necessity, rather than the hope of considerable success.[5]

The hostile armies were now front to front, and every thing stood prepared for an engagement; only some woods of small extent covered a part of the intermediate ground. General Burgoyne put himself at the head of the British line, which composed the right wing. That wing was covered by General Fraser and Colonel Brigman, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along the high grounds commanding its right flank, and were themselves covered by the Indians, provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flank. The left wing and artillery, under Major-generals Phillips and Reidesal, kept along the great road and meadows, by the river side.

The enemy, from the nature of the ground, having been prevented from perceiving rightly the different combinations of Burgoyne's march, issued from their camp to turn the right wing, and take the British in flank. But, on being checked by the strong position of General Fraser, they returned, and immediately directed their principal efforts to the left wing of the British. At three in the afternoon of this eventful day (September 19), Arnold led the Americans to a severe action, which continued till sunset. The chief burden of the contest lay on the British regiments which were posted on the plain; the German troops on the higher ground being but

[5] In his letter which explains those principles, he says, among other things,—'The expedition I commanded was evidently meant at first to be hazarded. Circumstances might require it should be devoted; a critical junction of Gates's force with Washington's migh possibly decide the fate of the war The failure of my junction with Sir Harry Clipton, or the loss of my retreat to Canada, would only be a partial misfortune.

partially engaged. The whole course of hostilities had not displayed a harder parity of either skill or resolution than was this day witnessed. At one period the enemy had even gained a superiority of fire, when the rapid advance of General Phillips, with the artillery, happily turned the scale, and probably prevented defeat. At this critical moment the 20th regiment distinguished themselves with great gallantry, under their active officer. The brigade of Captain Jones's artillery fought also with great effect, but, unfortunately, their commander was left among the slain. Just as the light closed, the enemy retired, leaving to the royal army, after a combat of four hours, no other honour nor advantage than having kept possession of the field; the retreat of the Americans not being the result of defeat, but of the approach of night, which demanded their return to the camp. The loss on each side was rated at 600 killed and wounded. The British lay all night on their arms, on the field of battle, and, in the morning, took a position nearly within cannon-shot of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left wing so far as to cover those meadows through which the river runs, and where their batteaux and hospitals were placed. The American position was not to be approached without great danger.

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At a period so truly hazardous, the infidelity of the Indian troops, and the frequent desertion of the Canadian and provincial followers of Burgoyne, came as the disheartening preludes of his future fate. The season of Indian hunting was now arrived, and, on that pretext, the savages, to whom protracted warfare had long ago become intolerable, withdrew from our army, in spite of all the intreaties of the British commander. General Burgoyne had entertained from the beginning, nor did he seem yet to have abandoned

CHAP. XII. 1777. the hope, of being succoured at Albany, by a strong force from the army at New-York. He now obtained, with great difficulty, a letter from Sir Harry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diversion in his favour, on the North river, by attacking Fort Montgomery and some other fortresses on the way to Albany. This succour was short of his expectations, but still it afforded hopes that Gates might be forced to divide and weaken his army. He immediately dispatched messengers to Clinton, describing his exact situation, but declaring his power and resolution to hold his Oct. 1777. present situation till the 12th of October. In the meantime, he fortified his camp with redoubts, and kept the most vigilant watch on the enemy's motion, as Gates's army was fast increasing, by fresh accessions of the militia.

While the force under Gates alone seemed thus a hard match for the whole of our northern army, an enterprize was concerted for cutting off Burgoyne from all communications with Canada, and for recovering the forts of Ticonderoga, as well as Mount Independence. The American general Lincoln, detached from the upper parts of New Hampshire, and the head of the Connecticut, three bodies of 500 men each, under the colonels Brown, Johnstone, and Woodbury. Though the main object of the expedition was defeated, and those assailants repelled from the two forts already mentioned, yet the enemy partially succeeded. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, and several other adjacent posts, with 200 batteaux, and several gun-boats, were taken on Lake George, three companies of foot, with a number of Canadians and seamen were made prisoners, and many of the American militia, who Sept. 18. had been kept in confinement, were restored to their army.

General Burgoyne's force had now fallen to 5,000 men; their sustenance was reduced to half

allowance, and their horses were absolutely dying of hunger. Of Clinton's expected diversion there was yet no symptom or approach. A retreat to the lakes was the last and only hope. To dislodge the enemy on his left wing, before this should be attempted, Burgoyne put himself at the head of 1,500 men, taking Generals Phillips, Reidesal, and Fraser, along with him. But the detachment had scarcely formed, when a furious attack of the enemy, with numbers greatly superior, obliged them to retreat, and save themselves from being cut to pieces, at the expence of six pieces of artillery, which they left behind. The 24th regiment covered this disastrous movement, during which Brigadier-general Fraser fell by a mortal wound; a loss most fatally felt by the British army, in its present distress. Scarce had the British troops retired within their lines, when Arnold, at the head of a considerable body, furiously attempted to carry their intrenchments: a wound which he received was at last the means of giving victory to our troops, in the quarter where he was engaged; but the other intrenchments, defended by the German troops, were carried sword in hand. Brigman, their commander, was among the slain, and the Germans retreated with the loss of baggage and artillery. Night closed the dreadful scene, and left the Americans in possession of 200 prisoners, with a large spoil of artillery and ammunition. To avoid the destructive consequences of remaining in his present position, Burgoyne effected, on the night of this calamitous day, a movement of his whole army to the heights above his hospital, which was managed with great secrecy and silence. Next day, an ineffectual attempt was made to bring the enemy to battle; but, as their chief aim appeared decidedly to be to turn the British right wing, a retreat to Saratoga became the only

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alternative. By this movement the hospital was necessarily left behind. To the high honour of General Gates, its unfortunate tenants were treated with all imaginable tenderness. On the approach of the British to Hudson's river, a large force was found opposed to dispute their passage, and the attempt was necessarily abandoned.

An attempt was now made to retreat to Fort George, but, when the pioneers and artificers had been dispatched to open the roads to Fort Edward, the appearance of the enemy again frustrated all hopes of success, and put the escort of American loyalists to the rout, who deserted our troops in the basest manner. By this time the boats which brought supplies to our army could not land without being exposed to a tremendous fire of the enemy; while, amidst these disastrous events, a number of vessels and quantities of baggage and provisions fell into their hands. Not a hope of escape now remained to those brave, but unfortunate men, but to retreat to Fort Edward by night, leaving their artillery behind, and each soldier carrying his provisions on his back. The sad resolution was adopted; but even this last ray of hope was extinguished, on intelligence being received, that the enemy, in great numbers, had secured the road to that quarter, and were well supplied with artillery.

On the 13th of October, as difficulty and danger had now attained their climax, a council of war was held in the British camp, at which, contrary to usual custom, all the captains assisted. Of 8,000 men who survived the capture of Ticonderago, only 3,500 effective soldiers now remained, worn down by toil, though still patient and magnanimous. The enemy, four times superior in numbers, and increasing every hour, almost encircled them. Those superior numbers could not be tempted to battle, nor could their strong posi-

tions be attempted by force. No prospect of relief was near, and only eight days provisions remained for the subsistence of the troops. The point of honour then yielded to desperate necessity, and it was unanimously decided in the council to enter into a convention with the enemy. On that day the first message, proposing communications for the purposed convention, were sent to General Gates, who betrayed no marks of arrogance on the approaching triumph of seeing his enemy surrender, but assented to such terms as, considering the total inability of Burgoyne either to subsist in his present situation, or make his way to a better, must be considered as honourable to the moderation of the victors. The chief difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the British generals were peremptory, and Gates far from being obstinate. CHAP. XII. 1777. Oct. 13.

On the 17th of October the memorable convention of Saratoga was signed.[6] The army was

[6] Articles of convention between Lieutenant-general Burgoyne and Major-general Gates.—

1. The troops under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left; the arms to be piled by word of command from one of their own officers.

2. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order.

3. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void, as far as such exchange shall be made.

4. The army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts bay, by the easiest, most expeditious, and most convenient route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed when transports arrive to receive them.

5. The troops to be supplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions, by Major-general Gates' orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if possible, the officers' horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates.

6. All officers to retain their carriages,

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to march out of camp with all the honours of war, and its camp-artillery to a fixed place, where their arms were to be piled. At the melancholy spectacle of piling the British arms, General Gates,

riages, bat-horses, and other cattle; and no baggage to be molested or searched, General Burgoyne giving his honour, that there are no public stores secreted therein. Major-general Gates will of course take the necessary measures for a due performance of this article, should any carriage be wanted, during the march, for the transportation of officers' baggage.

7. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in the Massachusetts bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from the men. The officers are to be quartered according to their rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll-callings, and other necessary purposes of regularity.

8. All corps whatever of General Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included, in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

9. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there. They are to be conducted immediately, by the shortest route, to the first British post on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the same condition, of not serving, during the present contest, in North America.

10. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, to carry dispatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain, by the way of New-York; and Major-general Gates engages the public faith, that these dispatches are not to be opened. The officers are to set out immediately after receiving their dispatches, and are to travel the shortest route, and in the most expeditious manner.

11. During the stay of the troops in the Massachusetts bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be permitted to wear their side-arms.

12. Should the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing, and other baggage, from Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most expeditious manner, and the necessary passports granted for that purpose.

13. These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, and the troops under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne are to march out of their entrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon.

(Signed) HORATIO GATES.

Camp at Saratoga,
October 16, 1777.

To prevent any doubt that might arise from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, Major-general Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it, as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

from humane and respectful feeling for the vanquished, did not suffer his men to be spectators.

The Americans state the whole number who laid down their arms at 5,752 men, including, no doubt, followers of the camp of every description. They stated the sick and wounded in the hospitals, taken at the retreat of our army from Still-water, between 5 and 600. The losses of Burgoyne, after his taking Ticonderago, were reckoned, in the same estimate, at nearly 3000 men, making, in all, the numbers of this unfortunate army amount to between 9 and 10,000. Thirty-five pieces of artillery were surrendered by this convention.

Such was the memorable convention of Saratago. General Burgoyne, like other unsuccessful commanders, reduced to the necessity of recriminating on others, in defence of his own conduct, shewed at least a consciousness of having some excuses for his misfortunes, by his forwardness in arraigning the alleged authors of them, and the bold manner in which he demanded a public trial. He left his captive army, and inveighed at home, among the opposition in parliament, at the wickedness of ministers, who, he said, *had devoted him to destruction.* But, to vindicate the character of Burgoyne, something more is necessary to be brought in proof than either folly or misconduct on the part of his employers. The plans of ministry had no share in his deepest of all blunders, the forcing a passage through swamps and wildernesses, that consumed the whole strength of his army, instead of conveying that army by water, where his advance would have been easy and expeditious.

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Declaration of the French cabinet respecting the trade of that kingdom with America.... Meeting of parliament, November 1777.... Lord Chatham's emphatic speech on the address.... Debates on American affairs.... Inquiry into the state of the nation, instituted by the duke of Richmond in the lords, and Mr. Fox in the commons.... Parliament adjourned in December.... New mode of levying troops resorted to during the adjournment.... Meeting of parliament after the recess.... Debates on the legality of those levies.... Parliamentary proceedings.... Mr Fox's important speech on the 2d of February 1778, on the origin and nature of the war.... Mr. Burke's speech on the employment of Indians .... Conciliatory bill introduced by Lord North, for coming to terms with the Americans.... Motion by the duke of Richmond, for conceding their independence.... Earl of Chatham's speech on that occasion.... His illness in the house.... His death, and honours paid to his memory.... Bills for the emancipation of Irish trade, and for abolishing the penal laws against catholics.... Return of General Burgoyne to Britain.... Supplies of the year.... Settlements on the younger branches of the royal family.... Parliament prorogued.

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DURING the spring and summer of the year so memorable for the humiliating losses of one army, and for the fruitless victories of another, in our warfare against America, the commercial interests of the country suffered severely, from the accustomed channels of trade being in many quar-

ters blocked up or annihilated, and our foreign commerce in general embarrassed with heavy burdens. The coasts of Britain and Ireland were, at the same time, insulted by the American privateers, in a manner which our hardiest enemies had never before attempted. The most inland recesses of our trade were insecure; a convoy for the linen ships between Dublin and Newry was now for the first time seen; and the Thames presented a new and melancholy spectacle of numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own merchants, who were now reduced to seek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the British flag used to afford to all the world. The whole conduct of France during the year 1777, in every thing that regarded England and America, was so slightly covered as to leave scarcely a pretext for farther patience on our side. When a bold adventurer, Cunningham, in a privateer fitted out at Dunkirk, had taken the English packet from Holland, and sent the papers to the American ministers at Paris, it then seemed incumbent on Britain to protest against the violation of treaties, and the law of nations. Cunningham and his crew were for a while committed to prison; yet this appearance of satisfaction was done away by the circumstances which attended it; for his imprisonment was represented to the Americans as proceeding merely from some informality in his commission, and irregularity in his proceedings; and he was speedily released to arm another vessel for the annoyance of our coast.

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Lord Chatham's late intimations of the hostile negociations in France, of the dissatisfaction of the American agents, and the possibility of still averting the junction of the natural enemies of Britain with our colonies, were well founded, and, if act-

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ed upon in due time, might have produced a salutary change. But the war, as we have seen, assumed its most fatal aspect during the late summer; and the success against Burgoyne, as it gilded the cause of America with success, excited the hopes and resolutions, as well as the wishes, of other countries in her favour. The sentiments of the court of Versailles were no longer disguised. The happiness of the predominant party in the French government, not to speak of the nation, at the news of Saratoga, was openly and exultingly expressed.

March. Already the American agent at Paris, Arthur Lee, had been sent by the congress, under the sanction of the French ambassador, to Vienna, for the purpose of arranging a treaty, or at least of purchasing warlike stores; and, by the pressing influence of De Breteuil, he was noticed at the courts of Dresden and of Berlin with some slight marks of attention, and was received at the imperial court, although his reception there was but in form permitted, and was attended with no symptoms of respect or regard. For two years past, two publicly-avowed diplomatic characters, Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, had exercised in Paris the most complete and extensive powers of negociation, by which, independent of other trade, the Americans were indebted to France for supplies of every warlike description. Remonstrances on the part of Britain produced only false promises and evasion. Though, in flagrant aggravation of these hostile symptoms, it was known that a treaty with America was either made, or approaching to definite arrangement, shortly after the news of Burgoyne's disaster; and though the ports of France began to teem with warlike preparations, yet ministers considered themselves obliged to wait events in silence, without appearing to notice their progress.

A declaration, which soon after issued from the French cabinet, respecting the trade with America, was the immediate prelude to an open declaration of hostilities. In addressing the several chambers of commerce, M. Justine, in the name of the French king, informed them, by a public instrument, that the trade with America should in future be free; and that his most christian majesty was determined to reclaim all ships taken in that trade, on pretence of being illegitimate. France had indeed acquired such a relish for the sweets of that commerce, that nothing but irresistible necessity could now force her to abandon it. She had waited, however, the issue of the American campaign, before she would risk any decisive step. In France the event of Burgoyne's campaign was speedily known, and proclaimed, as we have seen, with triumph; but, although ministers had received intelligence of it in all probability as early as the opening of parliament, the news of Saratoga were at that period known only to individuals through the medium of France, or by rumours, which the government pretended to discredit. CHAP. XIII. 1777.

Parliament met on the 18th of December 1777. The address from the throne portended no new measures respecting America; it predicted, on the contrary, the certainty of our success, the humiliation of the colonies, and appealed to the spirit of the people, in support of constitutional supremacy over our revolted subjects. In the last stage of bodily infirmity, but with the powers of his mind burning more brightly towards their close, Lord Chatham rose in the upper house, and denounced once more the injustice, the impolicy, and the utter hopelessness, of the war. 'It is now necessary,' said Lord Chatham, 'to instruct the throne in the language of truth; we must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelop it, and dis-

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play the ruin that is brought to our doors. Can the minister of the day now look for support, can parliament feel so degraded, and dead to its dignity and its duty, as to pledge itself to measures which have reduced this late flourishing empire to ruin and contempt? *But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world—Now,* '*None so poor as do her reverence.*' But not our resources alone are wasted; our national honour is impaired. France has insulted you, and you tamely bear her interference with America: our ministers, who will not hear the voice of justice from America, will tamely suffer from France the language, the acts, the injuries, which wound our honour. Do they presume to vindicate the honour of the nation, by requiring the dismission of American agents from the court of Paris? No; and yet these are the ministers of a country, which but yesterday gave law to the house of Bourbon.

'My lords, this ignominious situation demands that the ears of majesty should be rescued from the illusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known. I know the valour of our troops; what man can do they will do, but they cannot achieve impossibilities. You cannot, my lords, I say it, you cannot conquer America. Three campaigns are past, and in these we have suffered much, and done nothing. You may pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow, traffic and barter with every pitiful German prince, who sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent, doubly so from this mercenary traffic of those sons of rapine and plunder. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms. Never, never, never.

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'But your own army is infected with the contagion of those illiberal allies. Who is the man, my lords, that, in addition to those disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage—to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods, to the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren. My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character. It is a violation of the constitution; I believe it is against express law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus not only impaired, but familiarized to the horrid scenes of cruelty; it no longer can boast of the noble and generous painciples which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, 'that make ambition virtue.' What makes ambition virtue? the sense of honour. But can the sense of honour flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers what other allies have they acquired; what other powers have they associated to their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the king of the gypsies? Nothing, my lords, is too low, or too ludicrous, to be consistent with their counsels.'

'The independent views of America' (his lordship continued) 'had been assumed as the just grounds of hostility. Whatever might be the views of the intemperate part of the colonists, the greater part of America' (his lordship was convinced) 'were yet sound in their loyalty, and might be reconciled, if justice were done to them. The

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rights of Englishmen we ought to participate with them. The constitutional right of supremacy over the colonies it was our duty to reserve; and that supremacy, he was assured, the Americans would yet acknowledge, if it were asserted in a lawful degree, and divested of tyrannical claims. The present was the critical season for reconciliation; it would probably never again recur. America had listened to the influence of France, but had been disgusted by her conduct. Jealousies already subsisted between them. The partialities of our colonists still leant to England. Thus situated,' said Lord Chatham, 'you cannot conciliate America by your present measures; you cannot conquer her by those measures, or by any other. Let us address his majesty to terminate hostilities, and to commence a treaty, which shall restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both.' His lordship asserted, that if this proposal came speedily and cordially from our side, it was impossible for the intrigues of France to operate any longer to our prejudice in the colonies; and, after reconciling the affections of America, it would be just, and becoming the insulted dignity of the nation, to call the house of Bourbon to account for their late misdemeanours towards us. The amendment was negatived. In the course of the debate, Lord Suffolk, secretary of state for the northern department, undertook to defend the employment of Indians in the war, asserting that it was a measure of policy and necessity, since we were justified in using all the means '*that God and nature put into our hands.*' 'I am astonished,' exclaimed Lord Chatham, as he rose, 'shocked to hear such principles confessed; to hear them avowed in this house, or in this country; principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian. My

lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation; I feel myself impelled by every duty. My lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as Christian-men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne, polluting the ear of majesty, 'that God and nature has put into our hands!' I know not what ideas that lord may entertain of God and nature; but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating, literally, my lords, eating the mangled victims of his barbarous battles. Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine and natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity. These abominable principles, and this more detestable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that *right reverend bench*, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble

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lord[z] frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the religion, the protestant religion, of this country against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us, to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child; to send forth the infidel savage, against whom? against your protestant brethren, to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war; hell-hounds, I say of savage war! Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America; and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty; we turn them loose against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion, endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity. My lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry; and again I call upon your lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence; I again implore those holy prelates of our religion to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration, let them purify this country and this house from this sin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and in-

[z] Lord Effingham Howard commanded the English fleet against the armada, the destruction of which is represented on the tapestry of the house of lords.

dignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.' CHAP. XIII. 1777.

The speech of Lord Chatham was listened to with the most reverential silence, but produced no effect in the decision of the house. The address was agreed to.

The address of the commons was moved by Lord Hyde, and seconded by Sir Gilbert Elliot. The supporters still urged the propriety of coercive measures towards America; they congratulated the country on its flourishing situation, and imputed the language of those who called for peace and accommodation, not to error of judgment, but to sympathy with rebellion, and malice against their native country. In answer to this language of men who seemed intoxicated with misfortune, the opposition called on the advocates of the war to shew by what rule of computation they could reckon on the conquest of America, after a struggle of three years continuance, and the accumulation of 30 millions of debt. The equipment of 55,000 land troops and 100 ships of war had left us, in every scene and quarter of the contest, either baffled or inconsiderably successful. Our court, they said, had not yet been taught their real situation with respect to the colonies; and even when one half of Europe was about to draw the sword in defence of America, the king's speech gave not a glimpse of hope that the absurd objects of the war would be abandoned; on the contrary, it breathed only threats and defiance. To talk of the prosperity of the nation, they said, was, exclusive of its being false, a downright mockery of public distress. The rise of interest, the fall of stocks and of real estates in their value at market, were political barometers

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too accurate to be doubted. Our gazettes, however defective in other respects, presented long memorials of private calamity, arising from public misfortunes, of honest industry and opulence sunk to beggary by the crush of our commerce. The loss of our vast American export and import was in itself sufficient to shake the wealthiest state. The miseries which arose from thence to our islands in the West-Indies aggravated the evil; and the near annihilation of our African, Mediterranean, and Levant commerce, completed a dreadful picture of what this war must continue to produce.

In reply, the minister and his friends declared, that nothing was nearer their hearts than the restoration of peace; but that a cessation of arms at this moment would amount to nothing less than conceding independence to America. Commissioners (they said) had been appointed, with powers to grant that cessation, whenever overtures should be made by the opposite side. One strange, but unqualified, declaration of these official men cannot be recorded without astonishment. They admitted that some ambiguity had appeared in the behaviour of France and Spain, *but they denied that there was reason to apprehend* hostilities from either of those powers. Of the *deluded* Americans, as the cant of ministers for ever designed them, the same speakers expressed little doubt that their resources must soon be withered up, and their armies reduced to yield at discretion. In proof of this assertion, they enlarged on the difficulties under which congress was still struggling to obtain recruits, by promises of land, and exhortations calculated to excite their false patriotism. Thus appealing to the hopes of the British representatives, the minister did not fail to address also their fears. He pronounced the question at issue now to be, not merely whether America should be independ-

ent of Britain, but whether Britain should be dependent on America, since the same fatal concession which should confirm successful rebellion to so large a continent, would ultimately render this island, if once bereaved of her power and possessions, the vassal of that enlarging empire as soon as her strength should become mature. CHAP. XIII. 1777.

The whole weight of supporting the cause of the war in this debate fell upon a few official men. The country gentlemen looked unusually blank; they saw not only an end of all their hopes of deriving a revenue from America, but found the expences of the war growing beyond the utmost bounds of their expectation. Thinking it right, however, to persevere until the fate of the campaign should be decidedly known, they gave their silent votes to the minister. The debate was renewed next day, but the division was still against an amendment.

As the rumours of Burgoyne's defeat continued to multiply, and the agitation of the public mind tended evidently more to fear than to hope, it seemed the duty of those who watched the conduct of ministers to inquire into the conduct of the war, as they had formerly inquired into its justice, and to shew that our plans of operations were deficient in care and sagacity. On a motion in the committee of supply, that 60,000 seamen should be voted for the service of the year 1778, the state of the navy became a subject of particular animadversion. On this occasion, when one of the lords of the admiralty was entering on a satisfactory explanation, he was interrupted by one of the committee, who objected to his making public discoveries of this nature, as they tended to give dangerous information to our enemies. The opposition replied with warmth, 'that the refusal of this information was an outrage to the rule and custom of parliament, and a violation of their right' to know the purposes to which they

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voted the money of their constituents; that ministers had no secrets which could avail an enemy; it was parliament only whom they wished to keep in the dark; and that they needed no other proof of the wretched state of our navy than the pains which were taken to conceal it. Thus pressed to an explanation, the admiralty gave in an estimate of our naval force, which, according to the statement of Lord Sandwich, as the first lord of that department, consisted of 35 ships of the line, besides second-rate vessels, fully manned, and seven more, which only required seamen to man them. In contradiction to this statement, it was urged, with every appearance of proof, that only 20 ships of the line were fit for service. The resolution for the 60,000 seamen passed without a division; but the inquiries of opposition into naval abuses were only suspended for a little.

In pursuance of his design to trace the calamities of the country to their proper source, Mr. Fox, on the 2d of December, moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation, and the minister unexpectedly agreed. But, although Lord North had no objections to the main outline of the proposal, he resisted its most substantial article, which followed as a consequent motion, the return of such colonies or places as had been declared out of the king's peace, or copies of papers relating to that purpose. Dunning and Burke supported Mr. Fox's motion. Intelligence being circulated, in a whisper, during the debate, that the house of lords, after canvassing the same subject, had agreed to a production of papers, ministers for a moment felt disconcerted; but at last Lord North, with a warmth and asperity not at all usual to him, declared that it was disorderly to mention the decision of the lords as grounds for the conduct of the commons, and that the latter house, as independ-

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ent, were under no obligation to alter their minds from that circumstance. A new turn was given to the debate by a judicious speech which Governor Pownal here introduced. He described the situation of affairs as now so perfectly altered, that all production of papers had become unnecessary. Our conduct had hitherto been, in writing, in speaking, and in acting, towards America, that of a sovereign state to its subjects. Lord Howe, who had gone out in vain to conquer them, had no power to treat with them as an independent people. But congress had now declared America independent; and of what use now (said the governor) are papers, and debates, and disputations, if it appears that, in order to obtain peace, we *must* acknowledge, in any plan of conciliation, the Americans to be independent? Upon grounds very different from the arguments of Governor Pownal's speech, the papers were refused. On the 3d of December, the ever-memorable news of Saratoga were reluctantly, though indirectly, obtained from ministers. Colonel Barré interrogated the American secretary of state, Lord George Germaine, upon his honour, what was become of General Burgoyne and his brave troops? The secretary owned that the very worst accounts had been received, although he could not declare them officially. A pause of consternation kept the house in silence for sometime, till the whole invective of an injured country seemed to break upon administration, from the voices of independent representatives. The minister, as Mr. Fox observed, had exhibited, in political life, an exact parallel to the practice of Sangrado. Bleed, bleed, was his remedy for every disorder. Should the body politic appear enfeebled to the brink of destruction by this inhuman quackery, it was still impossible to abandon their sanguinary practice, because it was their system; and as Dr. Sangrado

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had written a book upon the efficacy of bleeding, he was obliged to continue the practice, although he saw it was mortally bad; so it had been avowed as the minister's system to draw blood, and he too was bound to uphold it. Lord North appeared unusually dejected; he could only declare, in palliation of these misfortunes, that his intentions had been for the good of his country, and that the greatest events had only served, in the wars of Britain, to rouse a stronger spirit of boldness, as he now hoped to see, in order to be a prelude to better fortune. The American minister[2] prayed that the house would refrain from censuring his conduct until an impartial investigation should take place. This observation, with other expressions of his lordship, appearing to insinuate a mean and dastardly intention to throw the blame of past calamities on an absent commander, revived the asperity of debate which Lord North's humility had assuaged. The opposition members deplored, in the deepest manner, the fate of an able general, and a gallant army, who had been sacrificed by the ignorance of the war minister, and sent upon an expedition of inevitable ruin. They condemned the whole plan and design of the northern expedition, as a plan of warfare so absurd and impracticable, that the chief of an Indian tribe would have been ashamed to acknowledge it. 'A junction between Howe and Burgoyne was the avowed object of this expedition, a measure which might have been effected within a month by sea. But the minister chose it should be accomplished by land; and what means did he take for that accomplishment? As it was necessary for the armies to meet, it might have been imagined that the northern army would advance to the south, or the southern army to the north; or, if it were intended they should

[2] Lord George Germaine.

meet anywhere about the centre, that they should have both set out in these directions about the same time. But no; the minister, despising all simple and ordinary means, sends one army from New-York still farther south, and sends the other to follow it from Canada, in the same direction; so that, had they travelled a thousand years, it would have been impossible to meet.' CHAP. XIII. 1777.

On receiving the report from the committee of supply, that £682,816 should be granted for the ordnance service of the ensuing year, the magnitude of the sum roused the opposition into measures of inquiry, and occasioned a motion by Sir P. Jennings Clerke to recommit the report. In comparing the present demand for the ordnance with the expences of that service, ordinary and extraordinary, in the glorious year 1759, when our arms were victorious all over the globe, and 150,000 armed men were employed, the opposition found it exceeded the supply of that year by £140,000. In the present year only 80,000 men were employed, and those were engaged in a petty contest, limited to one country and one people. Mr. Burke took a deep share in this inquiry, and pressed the ministerial side so severely, as for a time to silence their whole party. After an able speech, to which none of them had an answer to make, the question was called for; but the speaker declared he would not suffer the question to be put until some explanation was given. He looked upon order (he said) as contemptible, when, instead of forwarding, it stood in the way of parliamentary duty; here was a comparative expence, which, stated against the comparative service, was at first view wholly unaccountable. He demanded, therefore, an answer from the gentlemen of the ordnance. This interference produced some hesitating and awkward attempts to excuse the magnitude of Dec. 4.

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the sum. One member of that department attributed its amount to the bitter hostility of the country in which our artillery was acting; another to the widely desultory and divided nature of the scene of action. The minister took up more tenable grounds of defence, and shewed that not the whole, but only a part of the 150,000 men employed in 1759 were supplied with ordnance from the estimate alluded to; but, acknowledging that he was not prepared to enter on the question, the matter of fact was left to be ascertained on a future day, and the report of the committee of supply was agreed to without a division.

Colonel Barré, on the succeeding day, made an unsuccessful motion to procure copies of the whole correspondence received by the secretaries of state from our commanders, General and Lord Howe, General Gage, and General Carleton, relating to reinforcements, since the year 1775. On this subject the minister, with the same candour, acknowledged his being unprepared to enter; but promised that the purport of these papers should be submitted to the house on the day of general inquiry.

Similar to the great and interesting inquiry into the state of the nation, which Mr. Fox had endeavoured to institute in the commons, but of which the fuller discussion was evaded till after the recess, the duke of Richmond introduced a motion for examining public measures in the upper house, which drew forth an ample review of ministerial delinquencies. In contradiction to the bold assertions of Lord Sandwich, who extolled the state of the navy as superior in preparation to any former period, Lord Chatham distinctly proved that the actual seamen under Lord Anson's command of the admiralty had amounted to 80,000; the strength of the navy, as it now stood, bore no proportion

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to that amount. A more severe display was never made of insufficiency, neglect, and even falsehood of official assertion, in any public minister, than was this day exhibited of the noble lord at the head of the admiralty; and, amidst a torrent of angry invective, in reply to those accusations, there was never a weaker defence set up against the charge of mismanagement than the friends of that nobleman made. The victory of facts was flagrant; but the form of parliamentary absolution was preserved by the majority of votes of the ministerial aristocracy.

In consequence of the news of Saratoga being now published, with all their particulars, Lord Chatham came again forward in the house of peers, for the direct purpose of calling ministers to account for their plan of foreign operations, by which a gallant army had been devoted to destruction, and to demand from ministers copies of the orders and instructions given to General Burgoyne. The papers were refused, and his motion negatived, by a majority of 40 to 19. In all these struggles of debate, the decisions of the two houses were entirely monotonous. One only effect was produced, of registering in the history of debates a regular display of two arguments, which convinced the nation, too late and too slowly, of the impolicy of protracting our American warfare. Lord Chatham, on this occasion, as on others, spoke with a freedom and force that might have been offensive in a less commanding character. He saw the completion of his many predictions respecting America calamitously fulfilled. '*Ora Dei jussu nonumquam credita Teucris.*' He spoke not in the pride of triumph at the melancholy glory of his prophecies having been true, but in grief and indignation at those who had been the means of their consummation. After lamenting the humiliation of our mi-

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litary glory in the conquest of this gallant army, and conjuring in vain that their lordships would demand the true cause of this calamity, and bring its authors to public justice; after painting the ignominy which our army had suffered, not in defeat alone, but in being sent, associated with savages, whose immanity was disgraceful to human nature, he entered at large into the whole nature, plan, and character, of public measures since his present majesty had ascended the throne. It had been the court system, he said, for fifteen years past, to break all public and family connection, to extinguish all public and private principle. It was by this unlawful influence, by an ascendancy where no man ought to have personal ascendancy, that pliable, not capable characters, had been brought into office, and with them all the weakness and mischief of the ruling system.

In circumstances so unfavourable to their popularity, the spirits of ministers seemed to sink beneath the pressure of superior eloquence in both houses, and the silent eloquence of facts, which, in spite of parliamentary majorities, testified their system of coercion to have brought on the very disasters their opponents had described. Every scene of parliamentary meeting was productive of fresh mortification; their court and official speakers could only reiterate the invectives against the revolted colonies; their appeals to the pride of Englishmen against submitting to accommodation with rebels, or their hopes of fulfilling the system of coercion, which had been, year after year, so glaringly falsified by succeeding campaigns. The country gentlemen gave silent votes; the whole nation seemed to suffer administration rather than to support it. A pride peculiar to Englishmen formed a counterbalance to their natural impatience; so that, amidst commercial failures at home, and

the gloomiest prospects abroad, even with rumours of new wars, and still heavier burdens, the loyalty and pride of the nation, cemented by hatred to America, met the corrupt influence of ministry half-way; and those contending principles, thus leaning on each other, formed a temporary protection for the disastrous cabinet of Lord North.

As nothing was of so much importance as to get rid of parliamentary inquiry, ministers proposed an adjournment, early in December, to the 20th of the following month. Their antagonists deprecated this measure, as a wanton aggravation of public danger, at a time when all the wisdom of the legislature was required to provide for it. Involved in civil war, and on the eve of a rupture with the house of Bourbon, they asked what motives could be urged for this decision? The rulers of the country wished to fly from observation, and brood over evils, which they had neither sagacity to cure, nor fortitude to meet. The minister contended, that since, by this time, the fate of the campaign was decided, it was beyond the power of parliament to form any resolution respecting America, until the event was known. In the meantime, preparations could go on, as well during the recess as if parliament were assembled. He repeated his assertion, that he dreaded no hostile intentions from either France or Spain. The motion for adjournment was carried in both houses by large majorities.

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The recruiting of the military force was the first object of government, as soon as their attention was relieved from parliamentary business. As the German sources of supply were now diminished or exhausted, a new mode of levy was adopted, of which the success was almost entirely to arise from the individual loyalty of his majesty's subjects. In different towns throughout England and

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Scotland, the partizans of government set on foot a subscription for regiments to be embodied in his majesty's service, and Glasgow and other places offered each to raise a regiment on this plan. In the Highlands of Scotland, a warlike disposition, combining with the poverty of the people and their dependence on those chiefs, who, while they were the proposers of the loyal regiments, were themselves the dependents on government, and received gratuities in return, brought out a much superior force to what the English subscriptions afforded; for, in several towns of the south, all the efforts of ministry were unsuccessful; and in the metropolis, where 5,000 were expected to be raised, the livery, assembled at the White Hart, negatived the proposal, though supported by all the influence of the lord mayor,[3] and obliged the friends of the minister to confine their aid to an insignificant private collection. In Bristol, Norfolk, and Warwickshire, the popular voice was equally unfavourable; but the noblemen, and chiefs of the Scottish clans, undertook the armament with different success. From the north, the Mackenzies brought 2,000, and the Gordons 1,000. In the west, the duke of Argyll raised 2,000. From the north-west, the Macdonald regiment amounted to 1,000. The duke of Hamilton brought an equal number, and the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh furnished a regiment each. Thus, out of 15,000 men, who were raised on this occasion, 10,000 at least were levied in Scotland.

In the earliest debate after the recess, the legality of the new levies was disputed and discussed. The parliament (it was urged by opposition) had lost all controul of the public money, if, during their recess, the crown should be allowed to call on the people for aids or armaments, in any shape,

[3] Sir James Esdaile.

or on any pretence. Ministers pleaded precedents of this practice in their defence. In 1745, collections for the royal service had been made from house to house; and, at the opening of the late war, two regiments had been raised, independent of parliament. They also instituted a distinction between arbitrary taxes and benevolences, intended, like the present, for constitutional purposes. The members of opposition replied, that even under the arbitrary reign of James I, the greatest lawyer of the age[4] had pronounced such drafts to be aiding and abetting the king in the breach of his coronation oath. By a majority of nearly 100 votes, the procedure of ministers was acquitted.

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The 2d of February was distinguished in the British parliament by a speech from Mr. Fox, one of the most luminous and copious that was ever made, on the state of public affairs. The minister, as we have seen, had agreed that the house should resolve itself into a committee for examining the state of the nation, though he refused the production of the greater part of papers that might aid his antagonists in that inquiry. The day destined for the grand committee to commence was the 2d of February. Mr. Fox, after sufficient explanation of the motives and proposed ends of the committee, took a wide retrospective view of the conduct of American affairs, from the earliest adoption of those measures which had led directly, in his opinion, to the opening of hostilities, and to the present era of calamity. Yet, though this was a necessary prelude, he wished, in considering the subject, that all members, on this important occasion, would try to divest themselves of party partialities on subjects which already had excited the heat of altercation; that they would take up their opinions anew, and deliberately, as they arose

[4] Mr. St. John.

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from the subject of inquiry, or were founded on fair deductions from the information before them, neither considering themselves as friends nor enemies to America, nor regarding that country in any other light than as a part, and a valuable part, of the British empire.

As preparatory to the retrospective view which he took of those measures which had led to the present state of affairs, Mr. Fox laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, that it was impossible for any country to have fallen, within so few years, so much beneath its ancient pitch of power and glory, without some material errors in its government. After imputing the first rise of our calamities to that fatal agreement with the East-India company, which bound us over to the taxation of America, he observed that ministers, on that occasion, fell into a capital mistake. By looking through the wrong end of the prospect, they mistook a great object for a little one; they took thirteen colonies for one, and the whole continent of America for Massachusetts-bay. They forgot that a single colony, Virginia, was no less jealous of its rights, nor warm in asserting them, than Massachusetts; and they forgot that common danger would unite them all. Thus fatally deluded as to the opposition they were to encounter, and forgetting that their means were disproportioned to the end which they proposed, they discovered, too late, that truth which sagacious statesmen ought to have known beforehand, and not to have discovered, by experience, that every attempt to establish power, or to crush insurrection, with means inadequate to the end, will only serve to increase opposition in the one case, and to establish, instead of suppressing, rebellion in the other. Yet, totally blind to these consequences, the measures which the ministers pursued against the

town of Boston and colony of Massachusetts were of such a nature as necessarily compelled the other twelve colonies to become hostile in their own defence, and to enter into a common band of union with that town and colony. He insisted that parliament would not have passed the irritating and hostile laws of the year 1776, if it had not been for the defective and distorted information laid before them by ministers. On the contrary, had parliament been acquainted with the real nature, with the true state and extent, of opposition in America, they would have adopted the most healing and conciliating, instead of the most irritating and violent, measures.

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In treating of the causes which led to the final determined resistance and strict confederation of the colonies, he particularly reprobated the bill for bringing Americans for trial to England, and the Quebec act. The former, he said, without entering into the question of its justice or injustice, should, since it had been adopted as a measure of policy, have been supported, upon the same ground, by a force equal to the terrors which it announced, and the alarm which it inevitably excited. But as the act excited indignation at our injustice, so the insufficiency of the army by which it was enforced, only excited the contempt of the Americans, without lessening their resentment. It taught them to despise the power of this country, as much as they abhorred its injustice. The Quebec act, he said, united all parties in America. The most moderate, or those who were supposed the best affected to the British government, could scarcely, after that event, say a word in favour of the legislature. They saw a form of government established, which the violent held out as the model of that which was to be extended over the whole continent. It afforded an un-

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answerable argument, that the spirit of Great Britain was implacable; that they had no resource, but in meeting hostility with self-defence. The moderate party, if any such remained, were struck dumb. Thus the framers of the Quebec act, he said, whoever they were, became in fact the great and effective friends of the violent party in America. If they had not thus unseasonably interposed, there would have been a chance of America being divided; or at least the degrees of resistance would have been different in the colonies. This, however, made them all not only more firmly united, but equally zealous in the cause of their common preservation.

He then stated the impolicy of rejecting the very dutiful and affectionate petition from New-York, and the unhappy consequences which resulted from that rejection. Yet, notwithstanding all those acts and circumstances of irritation, violence, and malignity; notwithstanding the bitterness and animosity which rose from the blood first drawn at Lexington, and afterwards more profusely shed at Bunkers hill, America, he said, still seemed unwilling to come to the last extremities. She once more applied, but it was for the last time, to the equity and wisdom of government, for peace, security, and a renewal of constitutional dependence. The petition which the congress presented, through Mr. Penn, to the throne, was, considering all circumstances, couched in terms of uncommon moderation, as well as of the greatest respect. The Americans disclaimed, in this memorial, every idea of that independency with which they had been charged in the preceding session; they made the strongest professions of duty, and of affection. We had the olive branch in our hand, and we threw it back, with disdain, in the face of those who presented it. That fair occa-

sion was lost, and with it the hopes of peace and accommodation fell, never to be renewed. The petition was not deemed worthy of an answer. We shall long remember the fate of that offer, by the bitter fruits of its rejection. CHAP. XIII. 1778.

Mr. Fox then combated the apology which ministers had held out for conduct so strange and unreasonable. They had justified the refusal of the petition, because the congress were not deemed sincere in their professions, or meant to consummate even their own proposals. They held them out, it was falsely said, to gain time for preparation, and to deceive their own constituents, whilst the scheme of independence was rivetted in their secret intentions. The ignorance of ministers, he averred, respecting the true state of things in America, was revealed by facts; it was not to be denied: the very ground and basis of all their apologies for the disasters of our affairs in that continent was, by their own admission, an imperfect knowledge of what was to fall out in the issue of the contest; or, in other words, it was ignorance of American affairs. Could these ministers with confidence assert that they knew, from express information, the secret and inmost mind of the American leaders? had they dived into the deepest thoughts of that discreet and cautious congress, of whose characters, resources, and country, they had not even a superficial information. They knew not, indeed, that congress were insincere; for they knew of nothing that related to America, but they suspected them; and they allowed those suspicions, real or pretended, to blast the last chance of conciliatory measures; they preferred bloodshed to peace, and the loss of empire with disgrace, to its peaceable and honourable tenure.

In reviewing the operations of the war, Mr. Fox

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drew, as the principal conclusion, that, from the inefficacy of the great force already employed, and the small advantage which had resulted from the most brilliant successes of our arms, it was now evident to demonstration, that, from some inherent and insuperable obstacles, the scheme of coercion was impracticable; and that the only hope of bringing the contest to any termination, consistent with the good of this country, lay in negociation. He then proceeded to clear the way for his immediate motion, by an inquiry into the state of our home defence. On this subject he proved, from papers submitted to the house, that, at a period of unprecedented danger, with the hostile arms of the whole house of Bourbon on the eve of being drawn against us, the whole army of England and Ireland, including the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, fell short, by several thousands, of the usual peace establishment of the country. On this ground, and the reasoning already stated, that no force which we were capable of sending to America could justify the hopes of enforcing the coercive system, Mr. Fox moved for a resolution of the committee to address his majesty, with this request, that no part of the old established national forces of these kingdoms, or the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, should be sent to America.

To this speech, which lasted two hours, and comprehended the fullest and most distinct view of the American question which had ever been submitted to the house, not a word of answer was made by the ministerial party. No debate ensued; and in this singular situation, the question being put, Mr. Fox's motion was negatived, by 259 to 165. So large a minority, as well as the silence of the government members, seemed to augur a

considerable change in the disposition of the house of commons, and no doubt produced its effects in the sentiments of the people at large.

The attention of the house was, at their next meeting, occupied by the eloquence of Burke, who declaimed on a subject but too well suited to his powers in the terrible and pathetic, viz. the employment of auxiliar Indians in our warfare with America. He displayed, with great effect, the absurdity of that plea on which the use of such abominable aid had been defended, which was, that they were always attended by disciplined troops, to prevent their irregularities, and that care had been taken to prevent indiscriminate slaughter. If this fact had been true, the service of the savages would have been but a jest; the very essence of their effect in war was their cruelty. Indeed, that they murdered indiscriminately, was too dreadfully shewn by the fate of an American lady, Miss Macrea, the daughter of a loyal American gentleman, who was butchered by these allies of our army, on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the king's troops. Ministers contended that our use of Indians was a matter, not of choice, but necessity; that it was chimerical to talk of keeping them neutral; and that self-preservation drove us to have recourse to them. They admitted that congress had indeed made efforts to procure their neutrality; but that was only when they failed in drawing them to their support, and dreaded their incursions. The force, however, of Mr. Burke's censure is but slightly weakened, when we reflect that, on our part, no effort was made to second the humane efforts of congress, that men so unfit for honourable warfare should not have kept neutral on the scene. On the contrary, for the use of scarcely a thousand savages, the treasury of this country paid not less

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than £150,000; a price which, compared with the utility of their service, seemed to shew rather a love than a dread of those auxiliaries.

The minister, so hardly pressed by hostility abroad and inquiry at home, seemed at last anxious to get out of the embarrassing circumstances into which he had drawn himself and the nation. He

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introduced, therefore, a conciliatory proposition, which he had drawn up for the colonies, with a recital of his creed in all American affairs. Peace, he said, had been always his object. Of American taxation, in general, he had never entertained a favourable idea; but he found the Americans already taxed when he came into administration. The measure of enabling the East-India company to send teas on their own account to America was, in its nature, so much more a relief than an oppression, that, unless the disaffected, and those concerned in contraband trade, had misrepresented it to the populace, no commotions would have ensued. The coercive acts had appeared to him necessary; he had proposed, however, before the sword was drawn, a conciliatory proposition, which was unfortunately made to appear so obscure to congress, that it was damned ere it reached them. The events of war in America, his lordship acknowledged, had no less astonished than disappointed him; but it was to those events, and not to his expectations, that his plan was to conform. As the foundation of a conciliatory scheme, he therefore moved, under the following heads.—'A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's dominions in North America; and a bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers, to treat, consult, and agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in

certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces, of North America. Five commissioners were to be appointed to treat with congress. The commissioners were also to have power to treat with any provincial assembly, and with General Washington, or any other general officer of the American army; they were to be instructed to require from the colonies some reasonable contribution towards the support of the empire, when re-united. If the Americans should refuse so reasonable an offer, they were to expect no protection from the government which they refused to support.'[5] A deep silence for sometime succeeded to the minister's speech. Mr. Fox rose, and complimented him on his conversion, and congratulated his own party on the acquisition of so potent an auxiliary. He wished, however, that this concession had come earlier, and upon principles more respectful to parliament. His lordship's whole apology, if concentrated into one word, amounted to '*ignorance*;' and it became the person on whose knowledge and information parliament was wont to act, to have brought forward a better excuse. This concession, Mr. Fox said, he would still approve; but, if it should be found ample enough, and should come too late, what punishment would be due to ministers? to these ministers who, in spite of impending troubles, and the dreadful state of public affairs, had adjourned parliament, so as to make their very propositions of peace be unavailing. He

[5] The first bill was entitled 'an act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North America and the West-Indies; and for repealing so much of an act made in the 7th year of the reign of his present majesty as imposes a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation of America, as relates thereto.' A second bill followed, as a corollary to the first, which passed with slight opposition. The commissioners were, the commander in chief, Lord Howe, the earl of Carlisle, William Eden, Esq. and Governor Johnstone. The celebrated Adam Ferguson was secretary to the mission.

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did not speak from surmise, he said, but from indisputable authority, that France had concluded a treaty with the independent states of America, ten days before, counting from that instant. Others of the opposition said, they could not vote for the proposal, as they did not conceive it to be possible that the Americans, after having been driven to the extremity of rage and despair by our past measures, could ever listen to any terms of accommodation. Some of the country gentlemen, who had all along supported the minister, taking umbrage at an expression which he had unfortunately used, in talking of political disappointments, 'that if gentlemen had been deceived, they had undoubtedly deceived themselves,' rose with great indignation to assert, that they had been grossly deceived by the uniform language of government for three years past. The minister, on being closely pressed, and requested to explain what he knew of the rumoured treaty between France and America, at last reluctantly owned that it was reported to be in agitation, and that the rumour was too probable. It had not, however, been formally acknowledged by the French resident in London.

It had been the frequent and confident declaration of official members in both houses, that France would not espouse the quarrel of America. On the 17th of March, his majesty, in a formal message to parliament, informed them of a note from the French ambassador, Noailles, of which the contents gave a melancholy contradiction to those unfounded assurances. By this insolent memorial, our cabinet was informed that his most christian majesty had concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with the United states of America, and was determined, in the maintenance of that commerce, to support the dignity of his flag. As if to crown the insolence of the declaration with irony, the

Frenchman declared his hopes that, in this procedure of his christian majesty, our court would find new proofs of his constant disposition for peace. CHAP. XIII. 1778.

From this event, abundantly shewing that the period of conciliation was gone for ever, and that ministers had, either wilfully, or from ignorance scarcely more venial than intention, deceived the nation with respect to the long predicted interference of France, the opposers of ministry argued in vain for a vote of censure on their conduct, or for their dismission. Echoes of assent were returned to the royal speech from both houses. But, though no vote of censure was passed, the fact itself could not but impress the nation with a conviction that peace and conciliation had been too long delayed; and their confidence could not be but staggered in those men who had predicted facts so different from the present note of Noailles, at a time when the agencies of France with America bore neither mystery nor disguise.

In the business of this important session, the committee of inquiry into the state of public affairs forms a prominent feature. The chief objects of its supporters, among the antagonists of ministry, were to prove, from the documents reluctantly produced, that gross abuses were permitted in the distribution of public funds; that the navy was in no state of preparation proportioned to the dangers of the country; and that the waste of British blood in America was owing to mismanagement in our military plans. Though the motions of the opposition, founded on these inquiries of the committee, were almost uniformly negatived, yet important facts were ascertained, and debates were excited, which, if they produced no other effect, at least habituated the public mind to reflect on the vigilance which it is necessary to keep over the department of finance. During the period of this in-

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quiry, Messrs. Fox and Burke took the lead in the lower house; while the duke of Richmond and Lord Effingham were most distinguished in the house of peers. The duke of Richmond closed the inquiry in the house of lords on the 7th of April. Though he had failed, he said, through the prevalence of that power which he wished to correct, he attributed some considerable benefits to the inquiry. An ascertainment of the state of the navy, of the state of the army, of the general expenditure in consequence of the American war, and a particular investigation of the state of that expenditure, were the result of their inquiries; and he firmly believed that it was owing merely to the committee, that the ministers had been so far brought to their senses, as to think of accommodation with America. Founded on the result of these inquiries, on the alleged evils and debility brought on the country by ministerial misconduct, on the lost and alienated affections of America, and the total hopelessness of our efforts to subdue them, his grace moved for an address to the king, representing to his majesty the melancholy necessity of conceding independence to America, and of bringing this contest to a conclusion before the house of Bourbon should have time to interfere. That no possibility remained of subduing America by force, was now the decided opinion of this nobleman, and of all the members of the whig interest, who were generally known by the name of the Rockingham party. The venerable earl of Chatham, and a very few other statesmen of whig principles,[6] held a different opinion. They had ever combated against the oppressive taxation of America; they had pleaded the cause of the

6 In the house of peers, Lords Temple, Shelburne, and Camden; and in the lower house, Mess. Dunning and Barré, with some others.

Americans in parliament against the legislative hostility of ministers; they declared that America had been driven to resistance, and called by all their eloquence for just and conciliatory measures. They wished, however, along with the justice and honour of Britain, to redeem also her empire; and although the energies of the country were impaired, they considered them still sufficient to prevent a partition of our dominions. Had the whigs been collectively of this opinion, had they been admitted to his majesty's confidence, and united their talents and their virtue to grant America justice, and then recal her to dependence, there is no saying how much the spirit of England might have achieved, even in this arduous encounter; though it would require volumes of evidence to prove the probability of such success. But the whigs of coolest judgment, and in the best maturity of their powers, thought otherwise; and, since their councils respecting America were destined ultimately to be adopted, the division of the whigs was a circumstance peculiarly unfortunate. After the duke of Richmond had finished his motion, Lord Chatham rose to speak. The health of this venerable patriot had continued to decline after a late, but partial, recovery. On the day appointed for this important debate, however, the enthusiasm of his great soul overcame all bodily infirmities. Although ever a friend to American liberty, he could not see, without indignation, that approaching era of our quarrel which was to tear her from the empire, and confirm her independence. He began by lamenting that his illness had so long, and especially at so critical a time, prevented his attendance on the duties of parliament. He declared that he had made an effort almost beyond the powers of his constitution, to come down to the house on this day (perhaps the last

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time he should be able to enter its walls), to express the indignation he felt at an idea, which he understood was gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America. 'My lords,' continued he, 'I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the partition of this ancient and noble monarchy. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire, as great in extent as unsullied in its reputation. Shall we tarnish the reputation of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquests; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon. Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was. Shall a people that, seventeen years ago, was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, take all we have, only give us peace. It is impossible. I wage war with no man, or set of men; I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error, or who, instead of acting on a firm decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and, if we must fall, let us fall like men.' When his lordship sat down, Lord Temple said to him,

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'You have forgot to mention what we have been talking about.' 'Shall I get up?' Lord Chatham replied. 'No, no; I will do it by and by. The conversation to which Lord Temple alluded related to the principal features of a plan which Lord Chatham had formed with a view to effect the recovery of America. The first part of the plan was, to recommend to his majesty to take Ferdinand duke of Brunswick immediately into his service. Lord Chatham's design, in this measure, was to make an impression on France in the continent, in order to prevent her sending that assistance to the Americans which he knew the French court had promised. Another part of the plan was, to recommend a treaty of union with the Americans; that America should make peace and war in concert with Great Britain; that she should hoist the British flag, and use the king's name in her courts of justice. His ideas went no farther in this conversation. But he conceived an opinion, that when America saw the impossibility of deriving any assistance from France, the congress would accept of these terms. The duke of Richmond having spoken in answer to some parts of Lord Chatham's speech, his lordship attempted to rise; but, after two or three unsuccessful efforts to stand, he fainted, and fell down on his seat. The duke of Cumberland, Lord Stamford, and the other lords near him, caught him in their arms. The house was immediately cleared, and the windows were opened. His lordship was carried into an adjoining room, and the house directly adjourned. He was carried to his favourite villa at Hayes, where he languished till the 11th of May.[7]

[7] When his death was known in London, Colonel Barré, in terms of solemnity suited to the greatness of the public loss, communicated the melancholy intelligence to the house of commons. Even though his death had been for some time expected, a deep sensation was visibly

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The motion of the duke of Richmond was negatived by a great majority.

The distresses of Ireland had long been an object of regret, even with many of those who had no personal interests in that part of the empire. Under the unhappy consequences of the American war, the country became unequal to the support of that great establishment with which it had burdened itself at a former period, when the flourishing circumstances of the other parts of the empire infused a partial prosperity even among the poorest. Ministers at length perceived the necessity of attending to the interests of Ireland; and, in consequence of Earl Nugent's motion, a committee of the whole house was appointed, for the purpose of revising the laws of trade relative to that country. This proposal, though originating on the court side of the house, was eagerly adopted by the opposite members. The restrictions of Irish trade, it was acknowledged by ministry, had defeated even the purpose for which they were intended, and instead of promoting the staple manufactures of this country, it had impeded their prosperity. Lord Nugent's motion reduced itself to four heads: first,

sibly produced in the scene where this high-souled statesman had so often shone and commanded. All appearance of party was extinguished, as if the very souls of the audience had been elevated to a share of that departed greatness. Colonel Barré moved, that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, requesting his lordship's interment to be at the public expence, and that a monument should be erected to him in St. Peter's church, Westminster. The motion was agreed to. Lord North lamented that he had not had the honour of being himself the mover of it. Colonel Barré's motion was followed by another, for an address to the king, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to make a permanent provision for the family of William Pitt, late earl of Chatham, in consideration of the services performed by that able statesman; and, in the sequel, a bill was brought into parliament, and unanimously passed, by which a clear annuity of £4000 per annum, payable out of the civil list, is for ever to be annexed to the earldom of Chatham; and the sum of £20,000 voted for the discharge of debts and annuities. Thus nobly and gratefully did the nation reward the memory of that man, whose counsels she had for years neglected and contemned.

to permit the Irish to export to the British plantations, and settlements on the coast of Africa, all goods, wares, and merchandizes, the produce or manufactures of that kingdom (wool, and woollen manufactures only excepted, or commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, legally imported from that kingdom), as also foreign certificate goods, under the same condition. The second was, to permit a direct importation into Ireland, of all goods, the produce of any of the British plantations, or settlements on the coast of Africa, tobacco only excepted. The third was, to permit the direct exportation from Ireland, to all places except Great Britain, of glass manufactured in the former kingdom. The fourth was, by taking off a duty, amounting to a prohibition, on cotton yarn, to permit the importation of that article, manufactured in Ireland, into Great Britain. The fifth, which was moved by Mr. Burke, permitted the importation of sail-cloth and cordage.

To these proposals Mr. Burke, who ably seconded the motion, would have also wished to have added a repeal of all the penal laws against the Irish catholics. Lord North acquiesced in the propriety of such a scheme, for the relief of a loyal and long suffering people, but declined pledging himself to interfere in it, as it was exclusively the business of the Irish parliament to afford their own countrymen relief.

During the recess, a considerable ferment was excited by the bills in question, among the trading towns of England, and petitions against them poured in from many quarters. The first that engaged the attention of the house, was from the manufacturers of Somersetshire, complaining of the proposal to permit the importation of sail-cloth from Ireland. Burke, who, through mistake, had moved for leave to bring in a bill to this effect, observed after-

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wards, that he had since discovered that such a law was already in existence. If the bill, he observed, was to be productive of the consequences stated in the petition, it was extraordinary that the petitioners forgot to complain, when they were hurt, and felt so strongly when there was not even a possibility of sustaining injury. From this he inferred, that the jealousy entertained of the other bills was equally ill founded, and only originated in gross prejudice, or the selfish views of individuals. Petitions of the same nature, upon different grounds of complaint, came in from all parts of the kingdom.

May 1. The second reading of the Irish bills produced a very full debate on that subject. Sir Cecil Wray, professing, as a prelude to his attack upon the bills, the best disposition towards the whole Irish nation, and acknowledging that he well knew the grievances of that country, the sinecure offices, the laws against catholics, and several other oppressions, yet for strong considerations he would deprecate the intended measure. He had no objections to Ireland participating a free trade with ourselves, if she bore an equal share of our national burdens; but that was not the case, nor did any thing in the bills tend to that object. Ireland was supposed to contain two millions of souls, and they were taxed at one million of money, which was at an average ten shillings to each head. But Great Britain, with six millions of souls, was taxed at twelve millions of money, by which each inhabitant paid forty shillings towards the support of government. Mr. Burke stood up the champion of the bills, although obliged by that circumstance to abandon the inclinations and favour of the people of Bristol, by whom he had been sent to parliament. The bills, he said, before them, were no more than a restoration of what the wisdom of a British parliament had once thought the right of Ireland. The navi-

gation bills of the 12th of Charles II, extended to Ireland as well as to England; a kind of left handed policy had, however, deprived her of the freedom she had enjoyed under that law, and she had ever since remained under the most cruel, oppressive, and unnatural restriction. Deprived of every incentive to industry, she had inwardly lamented, but never complained of her condition. The annual revenue of the two kingdoms had been exultingly drawn into comparison, to prove that Ireland paid no proportion of tax. It was not the number of inhabitants, Mr. Burke said, that constituted the specific difference in the article of taxation between two countries, but the distinction of internal opulence and external advantage. Compare the two countries by that test, and it will be found that Ireland is taxed in a quadruple proportion to the sister kingdom. The internal wealth, and the external advantage of trade and commerce, are forty times greater in England than in Ireland. There is therefore no ratio of proportion in the mode of taxing the latter. She is taxed without enjoying the means of payment. There are several excises which England is subject to, and to which she is not. Suppose them laid on, they must be imposed for the sake of oppression, not of revenue. You tax candles in England, but there are two hundred thousand houses in Ireland in which probably a candle liable to the tax was never lighted. The taxes must follow wealth, and not precede it. If any attempt against this rule be made, there will be neither wealth nor taxes. And as to the judgment of proportion, he observed, it must be left to themselves, or they could not be counted free. Restricted as she was from trade, Ireland enjoyed no opportunity of acquiring wealth, to defray the taxes imposed upon her. Enlarge her means of payment, and in proportion to her ability she would enlarge her

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taxes. An equality of commercial advantages could not, he said, be established between the two countries. The great disproportion of capital effectually destroys the possibility of an equality; and as the ability of proceeding will increase in the same proportion in the progress of the one and the other, the same proportion of advantage will always remain. The Irish will be able to follow the English at an equal distance, both in the outset and in the continuance.

The minister coincided with Mr. Burke, in wishing for the bills to pass, but agreed to the propriety of Sir Cecil Wray's proposition, for appointing a committee to inquire into the general state of the trade, that upon their report in another session, the house might adopt a more enlarged plan of reformation. Sir Cecil Wray's intention in moving for the committee, was to thwart and oppose the bills; the minister more liberally intended that the present improvements should appear as an earnest of what was yet to be expected. The bills were accordingly committed. During the session, a dutiful and modest address was addressed to the king, in behalf of his catholic subjects, by Lord Surrey, heir to the duke of Norfolk, and 163 commoners. On the 14th of May, this sensible address was followed by a motion of Sir George Saville, for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities provided in an act of William III, to prevent the farther growth of popery. Sir George declared, that one of his principal views in proposing this repeal, was to vindicate the honour, and assert the purity of the christion religion, to which all persecution was essentially adverse. He did not meddle with the vast body of the penal code against catholics, but selected that act on which he found most of the prosecutions had been formed, and which gave the greatest scope to the base views of

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interested relations and of informers for reward. The act had not indeed been always put in execution, but only on some occasions; he understood, however, that many respectable catholics lived in great fear of it, and some even paid contributions to those who threatened to prosecute them on the strength of this odious act. The motion was seconded by Mr. Dunning, who went with great ability into a legal discussion of the principle, the objects, and past operations of this act. Among its grievous penalties were the forfeiture of inheritance to those catholics who had received their education abroad, and whose estates might be confiscated to the nearest protestant heir. The power given to the son, or other nearest relation, who was a protestant, to take possession of the father's or relation's estate, during the life of the real proprietor; and the depriving papists of the power of making any legal property by purchase; a word which, in its legal meaning, carried a much greater latitude than was understood; for it applied to all legal property, acquired by any other means than that of descent.

These, he said, were the objects of the proposed repeal. Some of the penalties of the act had grown into disuse, but others remained a disgrace to humanity. The imprisonment of a popish priest for life, only for officiating in the service of his religion, was a punishment horrible in its nature, and must appear to an Englishman even worse than death. Such a law, in times of so great liberality as the present, and when so little was to be apprehended from the ascendency of catholics, called loudly for repeal. The mildness of government had softened the law in actual practice. This motion, to the eternal honour of the commons, was passed without a single negative. In the house of lords,

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one bishop[8] opposed it. Lord Rockingham pointedly reprobated the sentiments of this zealous churchman. Lord Shelburne also supported the cause of the catholics, and adduced the case of Molony, an Irish priest, who had been convicted on the act of King William, though apprehended and brought to trial by the lowest and most despicable of mankind, a common informing constable of the city of London. The privy council used efforts in behalf of the prisoner; but in consequence of the written law, the king himself could not give a pardon, and the prisoner must have died in jail, if Lord Shelburne and his colleagues had not released him at their own risk.

In the meantime, counsel and evidence were heard more than once in different parts of the Irish business; and in consequence of a compromise between the supporters and opposers of the trade-bills, although the former party shewed a great superiority of strength, it was thought necessary to give up for the present most of the advantages that were originally intended for Ireland. Some enlargement, however, was given to the linen trade, and some openings allowed in the African and West-India commerce, which did not before exist. Thus, the measure, at its final progress through parliament, might be rather considered as an opening to future service, and an earnest of good intention, than as affording any immediate or solid advantage.

General Burgoyne's return from America revived the memory and merits of the Canadian expedition, and excited several fervent debates in the house of commons. The general spoke loudly in accusation of ministers, and complained that all access to fair inquiry into his conduct had been shut

[8] Doctor Hinchcliff, bishop of Peterborough.

against him, by their injustice. He was debarred by their influence, he said, not only from a personal approach to his sovereign, but the common privilege of being tried by a court martial. The ministerial members, seconded by the authority of the crown lawyers, replied, that, as the general was at this moment a prisoner on parole to the Americans, he could with no propriety be brought to such a trial. On this subject, however, the opinions of many respectable and impartial judges differed from the king's lawyers. Among others, the speaker of the house of commons gave his vote in favour of Burgoyne's right to demand a court-martial. The speeches of Burgoyne were in these debates distinguished by the open impetuosity of his character. They were often eloquent and affecting, and in many circumstances denoted that he had been treated by his employers with unfairness; but admitting the greater part of his charges against ministers, there is no doubt that, even in the outline of the Canadian expedition, a considerable part was chalked out by his own hand; and it would be difficult to prove that consummate generalship on his part had conducted him to the fatal scene of Saratoga. CHAP. XIII. 1778.

The motions of this session were uncommonly numerous. Among the rejected motions of the opposition was one which originated with Mr. Gilbert, in the committee of supply, for a tax of 25 per cent. on pensions and salaries issuing from the exchequer, during the continuance of the present war; and a bill for excluding contractors from the house of commons, which were both lost, although by such declining majorities, as marked the administration to have passed the zenith of its influence.

The supplies for the year were voted for 60,000 seamen, besides a considerable augmentation of the land forces. The ways and means consisted of a

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loan of £6,000,000, at 3 per cent. with an annuity of £2 : 10 for a certain number of years, or for life. The sum of £480,000 was raised by a lottery, and £2,000,000 by exchequer bills. The new taxes were, an additional duty of 8 guineas per ton on all French wines, and 4 guineas on all other wines of foreign production.

A sufficient provision was secured, in the course of the session, for the younger branches and relatives of the royal family. An annuity of £60,000 was voted for the six younger princes; for the five younger princesses £30,000; and on the son and daughter of the duke of Gloucester £12,000; the two first annuities to take place on the death of his present majesty, and the last on the death of the duke of Gloucester.

Though the session had continued beyond its usual time, it was however moved by the opposition party in both houses, that his majesty should
May 28. be requested not to prorogue his parliament under the present alarming aspect of affairs. But the minister, in spite of his waning majorities, once more triumphed in negativing the proposal, and again retired from a scene of distressing investigation.

The royal speech of prorogation, on the 2d of June, returned thanks to parliament for their zeal shewn in supporting the honour of the crown, and for their attention to the real interests of the subjects, in the wise, just, and humane laws which had been the result of their deliberations. His majesty's desire of peace, it was declared, had been sincere, but ineffectual. He had made the laws of nations the invariable standard of his conduct, and still trusted that the valour of his fleets and armies would be able, under divine providence, to defeat all the enterprizes which might be presumptuously undertaken by the enemies of the British crown.

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Situation of the armies in America.... Proceedings and excursions of the British, in the spring of 1778.... *His majesty's permission arrives for Sir William Howe to resign.... Sir Henry Clinton succeeds to the chief command.... Arrival and ineffectual attempt of the British commissioners for peace.... The British evacuate Philadelphia.... Battle of Freehold-court-house.... Arrival of a French fleet on the American coast.... Attempt of the enemy on Rhode island .... Lord Howe sails for its relief.... French and British fleets on the point of engaging, separated by a storm.... Gallant achievements of individual English ships.... Retreat of the Americans from Rhode island.... Vindictive hostilities in America, during the summer.... Desolation of the beautiful settlement of Wyoming.... Departure and valedictory manifesto of the British commissioners.... Hostilities in the West-Indies...., Capture of Dominique by the French.... Proceedings in Europe ...Naval action off Ushant.... Trial and honourable acquittal of Sir Hugh Palliser.... Meeting of parliament.... Various motions and impeachments of the lords of the admiralty.... Motions for the relief of Ireland.... Message from his majesty, announcing the hostile intimations of Spain.... Debates on the militia bill.... Supplies.... Conclusion of the session.... Partial change of ministers during the recess.*

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FROM October 1777 to June 1778, the British army continued to hold its head quarters at Philadelphia. Its movements were neither numerous nor important; nor does the period we have mentioned appear at all eventful in the history of the war, unless we attach consequence to that very inaction, by which the infant strength of the re-

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volted colonies acquired more real, though silent accession, than almost victory itself could have yielded them.

Some few efforts were, however, made to get forage in the neighbourhood, to rouse a few loyalists, or to protect those who had risen on the coast of Jersey, and to annoy an enemy not 5000 strong, by *some spirited sallies* from an army of 30,000.

On the 12th of March, an unimportant skirmish took place at Quentins bridge, on the Delaware, in which Colonel Mawhood took some prisoners; but the return of the enemy to take possession of the same post induced that commander to renew the attack in a neighbouring quarter, and to drive the Americans from all the posts which they possessed in the Alewas creek. As their numbers chiefly gathered at the bridge known by the name of Hancock's house, it was resolved to surprize them in that position. The chief employment in this nightly attack was entrusted to a Captain Dunlop, of the light infantry. It was completely effected. The report of Colonel Mawhood was, that not one American of the surprized detachment escaped the sword. The sound of such details have all the horror of war, with little of the pomp or circumstance to assuage it. The enemy abandoned all their posts on the Alewas creek, and retired to the distance of sixteen miles. Colonel Mawhood, judging the object of his expedition to have been effected, re-embarked his troops for the main army at Philadelphia.

About the beginning of May, an American force, 1000 strong, under Brigadier-general Lacy, advanced to a position called Crooked Billet, about seventeen miles from Philadelphia, on one of the great roads of communication between the town and country, an approach which threatened to impede the supplies of the British camp. The plan

adopted for surprizing this advanced force was judiciously conceived, but from the rapidity of their retreat, so far failed, as to produce only the capture of their baggage. It was proposed that Major Simcoe should march, by a circuitous road, to the rear of the Crooked Billet, and that a detachment should march, and ambuscade themselves in a wood, on the road which led to Washington's camp, and which passed at no great distance from Crooked Billet. To this place of ambuscade, Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie was detached, on the night preceding the 4th of May, with about 400 light infantry, a large party of light dragoons, and horses to mount part of his infantry for the expedition. Major Simcoe's march was tedious and difficult, but he was well guided, and, without resistance or accident, arrived on the right flank of the enemy, near their rear. As he was taking his last circuit from the road, to reach the Billet, a slight firing was suddenly heard. Colonel Abercrombie, though assisted by horses, could not arrive at his post at the time appointed, before day-break; but being anxious to support Major Simcoe, he detached to the place of ambuscade his cavalry and mounted light infantry. The officer who commanded this detached party, patrolled as far as Lacy's outpost, and, on being fired at by the sentinels, did not retire. Lacy, justly attributing his confidence to the force behind him, began to retreat up the country, just as Simcoe's rangers were getting towards his rear. The main body of the Americans made off with such dispatch, that our infantry, by their utmost efforts, could not overtake them; and the horses of the rangers had been unfortunately left at Philadelphia, owing to the fatigue they had experienced in a late patrole.

For some reasons, which are not very obvious, the American commander in chief thought proper

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to detach the marquis de la Fayette, to take post, with nearly 3000 men, upon Barren hill, a position seven miles advanced from the grand camp of Valley-forge, but upon the opposite, or eastern, side of the river. An advance so far from headquarters had nearly proved fatal to the American army. On the night of the 20th of May, 5000 of the choicest troops in the British army, marching by the road which keeps close to the Delaware, thus diverging from Barren hill, and then passing Whitemarsh, got fairly in the rear of la Fayette's force, and consequently between him and the army of Washington. This movement had been so far concerted and accomplished with effect, that only one road for retreat was left to Fayette, which lay across Matsons ford; and as General Grant had also pushed on with a considerable force on the western side of the river Schuylkill, on which the ford we have mentioned is situated, this retreat itself might have been cut off, if Grant had made a rapid advance, so as to get the start of Fayette in proceeding to Matsons ford. To this measure he was strongly urged by Sir William Erskine; but was induced, from his own views of the enemy's situation, not to attempt that advisable measure. Fayette accordingly effected his retreat across the Schuylkill, though with a hurry and confusion which bespoke the greatest alarm for his safety; and he saved his artillery, with some loss of men, and, as it were, by a hair-breadth escape. The British generals, advancing to the ford, perceived that he had found, on the opposite shore, a situation so secure, and with his artillery pointed on the rough and broken banks so formidably, that it was deemed inadvisable to attack him. Thus failed an expedition, which wanted but one judicious, and, by the best evidence, practicable, step to have cut off a great proportion of the whole

American army. The interference of General Washington to save Fayette was scarcely to have been apprehended; or, if it had been attempted, a general action must have ensued, from the vicinity of the whole British army; and thus the issue of the war, in all probability, would have been altered.

Such were the chief achievements of the British army in the last campaign of Sir William Howe's command. As early as the month of October of the last year, the general had solicited permission to resign, giving to Lord George Germaine, the state secretary for the American department, as his reasons for resigning, that he did not enjoy the necessary confidence and support of his superiors. Although the known political attachments of this general, before he accepted the command, might justify some suspicion of unkindly sentiments still subsisting on the part of his employers, and although the charge against ministers is so boldly avowed, as to seem at least like the conviction on his own mind, yet as the complaint is so generally made, as no fact of importance is brought forward to shew in what manner and instance he had been so improperly treated; and above all, as it appears that, with numbers filled up to his highest demand, the British commander inflicted scarce a scar on the front of rebellion, the very general voice of censure on his conduct has not been refuted. In the house of commons, the friends of the general at last obtained a committee for the examination and exculpation of his conduct in America; but, at their own instance, another vote of the house pronounced the dissolution of the same committee, without any inquiry being brought on.

On the 14th of April, his sovereign's permission to resign arrived to the British general, who enjoyed, before his departure, a testimony of respect

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from the officers of his army, honourable, indeed, to the personal attachment of his followers, but so proudly ostentatious in the manner of bestowing it, as to excite a comparison between the merits and the triumph of the general, noway favourable to the former. This was the fête of the mischianza, given in honour of Sir William Howe at Philadelphia, before he took leave of the army. The festival rivalled, in splendour, even the pageantry of Louis XIV. All the colours of the army were placed in a grand avenue, 300 feet in length, lined with the king's troops, between two triumphal arches, for the two brothers, General and Admiral Howe, to march along in pompous procession, followed by a numerous train of attendants, with seven silken knights of the blended rose, and seven more of the burning mountain, and fourteen damsels, dressed in the Turkish fashion, to an area of 150 yards square, lined also with the king's troops, for the exhibition of a tilt and tournament. On the top of each triumphal arch was a motto,[1] which posterity, without ingratitude to one of her highest naval heroes, cannot, however, in complaisance, extend to his brother. This compliment, against which Sir William Howe took no protest, was not written in English, but in a language more congenial to the excess of absurd adulation.

The chief command devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton, of whose actions, in the course of the war, some mention has already been made. He had served in the war with France from 1754 to 1763, in the respectable situation of aide-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, by whom he was held in the highest estimation. Thus he was undoubtedly bred in one of the first military schools

[1] The words were, 'Tes lauriers sont immortels.' Thy laurels are immortal.

of Europe. With such personal merit, and deriving his birth from the noble family of Newcastle, as well as holding the next command to Sir William Howe, he was naturally expected to be his successor.

Within a fortnight after Sir William Howe's departure from America, the British commissioners, who, in consequence of Lord North's conciliatory bills, were sent out to make peace with America, arrived in the Delaware, and without delay entered on the execution of their office. Already, as early as the month of April, rough drafts of the conciliatory bills had been sent out, with a view to anticipate any offer of co-operation which France might be likely to make with the states. Congress, upon the first reception of the bills, in their rude undigested state, passed resolutions so contemptuous, as sufficiently indicated their fixed intentions to reject them. They affected to consider them as only part of an insidious attempt of the British government to lull America into fatal security, or to divide, that they might the better enslave her. The arrival of Mr. Silas Deane at York-town, on the 2d of May, with copies of the treaties entered into between the French king and the American plenipotentiaries at Paris, rendered the task of the commissioners entirely hopeless. The commissioners, however, dispatched their secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, to proceed to York-town, and lay his instructions before congress. Upon his arrival at the first out-post of the American army, he was not suffered to proceed any farther, as General Washington refused him a passport; until he should have the permission of congress. Dr. Ferguson, to prevent delays, forwarded the papers, of which he was intended to be the bearer, to congress, by the ordinary military posts of their army, and reached York-town

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on the 13th of June. In a few days, the president of congress declared, in the name of that assembly, that the acts of parliament and commissioners instructions, being founded on the supposition of American dependence on Great Britain, were inadmissible as overtures of peace. They were willing to embrace a treaty of peace and commerce; but, as the fundamental principle of reconciliation must be our acknowledgment of their independence, so the best pledge of our intentions would be withdrawing our fleets and armies. General Washington's conduct in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson was formally approved off by congress.

Before this answer was received, our troops had evacuated Philadelphia. It was yet uncertain whether the French would strike a blow upon the continent of America, or in the West Indies. But in whatever manner the hostilities of France should be directed, a situation such as Philadelphia, distant 100 miles from the sea, and communicating with it only by a winding river, was thought no proper station for the southern army. On the morning of the 18th of June, before ten o'clock, the British troops passed over the Delaware, and encamped on the Jersey shore. The unfortunate loyalists, who chose to leave Philadelphia, went along with them.

The route of the British army lay along the eastern bank of the Delaware, as high as Trenton. General Washington, crossing it still higher up, and coming by a circuitous route, sent only detachments occasionally, to harass the king's troops on their slow and encumbered march to New-York, by the way of Sandy-hook. Along the road in this quarter, which keeps clear of the course of the Rariton towards the right, the British proceeded, till they halted on the 27th of June, on

some high grounds, in the neighbourhood of a place called Freehold court-house, in the county of Monmouth. General Washington's advanced detachments, amounting to more than 5000 men, had taken post at English-town, a few miles in the rear of the British army. Colonel Morgan's American corps of 600 hovered on the right of our troops, and Colonel Dickenson's of 800 on their left, while Washington, at three miles distance, encamped behind his advanced corps with the main body. To prevent the British from seizing a favourable situation some twelve miles in their front, General Lee was ordered to attack them as soon as they should move. Sir Henry Clinton, rightly concluding from appearances that Washington meditated an attack, put the whole of the baggage in the front division of General Knyphausen, that the rear division, under Cornwallis, might be the less encumbered for action. The former body moved at day-break on the 28th of June; at eight in the same morning the rear guard also moved on, but had scarce descended from the heights of Freehold, when the American columns were seen pressing upon their rear and flanks. Anxious for the safety of his baggage, the British general thought a fierce attack upon the force which hung upon his rear would be the best means of obliging them to recal their forces on the flank, which threatened to annoy Knyphausen on his march through some dangerous defiles. The enemy retired before our troops, as they prepared to fight them, on the plain beneath the heights of Freehold-court-house, but took their station on those heights, and made some resistance. Their first and their second lines were there charged by the British soldiers, and successively yielded to the superior steadiness and courage of the assailants. As the provincials were retreating on all sides,

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General Washington opportunely arrived with the main body, and, by taking ground behind a defile upon strong ground, arrested the retreat of his broken countrymen; for, although the left flank of the enemy, even upon the third assault, was actually turned by the light infantry and queen's rangers, yet the British commander, justly considering that the safety of the baggage, which was all his object, had been now secured, recalled his troops, already sinking with fatigue and the dreadful heat of the day. He joined General Knyphausen, with all the wounded that could be conveniently removed. Our loss (including 59 men, who dropped down dead without receiving a wound) amounted to 358. The loss of the Americans was almost exactly equal to ours, by their own estimation.

This battle, in which the American troops were so much more engaged in retreating than pursuing; a battle which gave them no plunder, but baffled them in the main object of their attack, was, with no great justice, claimed by that side as a victory. General Washington and his troops received, however, the thanks of congress for their imaginary triumph. The affair was made memorable to Washington's army by the temporary loss of one of his best and bravest leaders. General Lee, a brigadier in the service of congress, long known and admired for spirit, genius, and sagacity in his profession, commanded a body of the enemy on this day, who had neither discipline nor courage to stand the attack of regular troops. He had been betrayed, during the heat of the engagement, across some narrow passes of a marsh, by the persuasion that he had only to deal with two or three battalions, when he suddenly perceived 6000 men, including the British light infantry and the grenadiers, forming to receive him. He re-

tired with such quickness of decision, though not attacked, that he repassed the marsh before our line was in readiness to move. Had he waited, he must have been certainly overpowered. After a second onset of the British, and a second defeat of the American troops, Lee was under the necessity of ordering another retreat, which he conducted with great skill and eminent personal courage. Washington coming up with the main body, and finding his van retiring, rode up to General Lee, and addressed him in such terms as the high spirit of that officer could not brook. He answered the accusations of Washington in such indignant terms as occasioned his arrest. He aggravated this offence by writing a letter, under his confinement, in the same passionate style; and being brought before a court-martial, on a double charge of misbehaviour and disrespect to his superior, was suspended from all military command for twelve months. The British army marched until the baggage, having reached Sandy-hook, was out of all danger. Here Sir Henry Clinton, while boats were preparing to carry over the troops across an inlet of the sea, which separates Sandy-hook from the continent, lay encamped some miles in the country, eagerly expecting a grand attack of the American army; but Washington was by this time on his march to the North river. Our army accordingly embarked on the 5th of July, and the same day landed at New-York.

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On the 11th of July, a French fleet, commanded by D'Estaing, consisting of fifteen sail of the line and three frigates, appeared in sight of the British fleet at Sandy-hook. Lord Howe commanded eleven ships, nominally of the line; but of these some were below fifty, and two of them only of forty, guns. D'Estaing cast anchor on the Jersey side, about four miles within the hook. July.

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His design was to attack the English fleet in the harbour. Lord Howe, with great tactical skill, drew up his ships for this unequal engagement; but the impossibility of bringing his large ships over the bar of the harbour prevented the French attack, to the great mortification of the British tars, who felt impatient to come to the first action with the new enemy. D'Estaing departing on the 22d, the fleet of Admiral Biron, which had been dispatched from Portsmouth on the first intimation of a French force having sailed for the west, arrived at Sandy-hook, though not without sustaining severe damage from tempestuous weather; so that the force of the British admiral was now equal to cope with the French in open seas. D'Estaing, after leaving Sandy-hook, proceeded to Rhode island, to co-operate with General Sullivan, at the head of 10,000 Americans, in an enterprize against Newport. Against so powerful a combination of French and American force, Sir Robert Pigot, commander of the British forces, took every possible precaution for defence. On the 8th of August, D'Estaing's fleet anchored above the town of Newport, between the Great island and Connanicot. Lord Howe, on the first intimation of the danger at Rhode island, set sail for its relief, but could not come up till a day after the French fleet had entered the harbour. The two fleets continued in sight of each other for several days, manœuvering for the weather-gage; but at length, when they appeared mutually disposed for action, they were separated and dispersed by a tremendous storm. After their dispersion, several actions took place between the ships which accidentally got sight of each other, which made it appear highly to be regretted that they had not fought a general battle; for, although Lord Howe was inferior to the French in number, he had been reinforced by a small force from Byron's; and

the contest between the single ships shewed the decided superiority of our seamen. Two 50 gun ships, the Isis and the Preston, fought with a 74 and an 80 gun ship of D'Estaing's squadron an equal and drawn battle, and another of our 50 gun ships, under Captain Dawson, would have captured a 90 gun ship, if some of the rest had not come up to her rescue. Lord Howe, collecting his scattered force, followed the enemy to Nantasket road, but found them defended by strong and impracticable batteries. Returning to New-York, he thought the superior strength of our fleet in those quarters a proper opportunity for quitting his command, and took his departure for England, for the recovery of his health. His whole conduct, during his command on the American station, exhibited the same unequalled skill and seamanship by which he afterwards contributed to raise the British navy so far above competition. Of the American force which General Sullivan commanded against Rhode island, the greater part were volunteers; and these, disheartened by the departure of the French fleet, returned home in such numbers, as to make the commander despair of success. His baggage was therefore put to sea, and, by a nightly evacuation of their works, the Americans had a march of several hours unperceived by the British. General Pigot, the military commander of the island, immediately attempted to charge their rear, as soon as day light discovered their retreat. After a succession of skirmishes, and a pretty smart and bloody action along the whole front of the American encampment, the troops drew off on both sides. Preparations were made for renewing the assault of the Americans next day, when General Sullivan, unperceived, escaped with his troops across the channel, to the continent. Fortunately for the enemy, Sir Harry

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Clinton, who was hastening with 6000 to the relief of Rhode island, was detained for some days, by contrary winds, in his passage through the sound, otherwise the retreat of General Sullivan and his army would, in all probability, have been cut off.

During the course of the summer, hostilities continued to rage on the continent of America with peculiar and vindictive rancour. Sullivan's retreat having baffled the British commander's views upon the invaders of Rhode island, Sir Henry Clinton dispatched Major Grey, with transports and a convoy, on an expedition to the eastward.

Sept. 5. Landing at several places of Plymouth colony, this detachment succeeded in burning all the wharfs, magazines, warehouses, and ropewalks, with about 70 sail of shipping; for these places were the great nests of privateers. The chief destruction was done on the Bedford and Fairhaven side of the Acushinet river. From thence the troops proceeded to the fertile island of Martha's vineyard, and brought away a welcome contribution to the army at New-York of 10,000 sheep and 300 oxen. Admiral Montague captured, on the Newfoundland station, the two small islands of Miquelon and S^t. Pierre, which had been allotted to France by the last treaty of peace, for the French to dry their fish in the Newfoundland fisheries. On the return of the troops with the plunder of Martha's vineyard, a new expedition was planned by General Clinton, to Egg-harbour, another haunt of privateers. For keeping the provinces of New-York and the Jerseys open to forage, Lord Cornwallis was sent with some troops along the right bank, and General Knyphausen along the left, of the North river; so that the British troops could speedily concentrate their strength by keeping boats on the river; while Washington was obliged to keep his troops divided, or run the risk of a pitch-

ed battle, if he gathered them. Of the enemy's troops, thus widely scattered, many parties fell a prey, by detail, to the active detachments of General Grey's division of Cornwallis's army. A troop of Baylor's regiment of light horse, composed of the gentlemen of the best birth and education in North America, serving as volunteers, at their own expence, lying too securely at the village of Old Toapan, on the north, were surrounded at midnight, and put to death in a defenceless situation. A party of horse, called Powlaski's legion, were surprised in a similar manner by a night attack, and, of a numerous party who were wakened out of their sleep by the bayonets of the soldiery, only five men escaped. This event has not passed without its just condemnation in the annals of our unfortunate war. If, in nightly surprises, the main object of promptitude and preventing alarm be inconsistent with common humanity, it would have been worthy of the genius of Englishmen to have devised a system of hostilities on more enlarged and dignified principles. To the great military tactician, who can draw from his own invention the plans of pitched and effective battles, how contemptible must the issue of such cut-throat skirmishes appear; yet how deeply do they wound and affect the feelings of humanity, when related! The officers who conducted some of those nightly expeditions declared that, from existing circumstances, it was necessary to give *little quarter*. At this distance of time and place, it would be rash and unfair to stigmatize individuals; many circumstances may be unknown, and some, it is hoped, exaggerated; but the fact of cruelty speaks for itself, when we hear of companies, surrounded and incapable of resistance, being butchered to the last man. The love of our country is carried too far, when we palliate or conceal such enormities.

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Such events gave too just a sway to congress over the irritated minds of their countrymen, in devoting them to mortal resistance to the mother country. In the course of mutual recriminations, the refusal of that assembly to allow the embarkation of Burgoyne's army, till the treaty should be ratified by Great Britain, was a violation of faith less atrocious than the events we have related, but a subject of no less just reprehension. The troops who surrendered at Saratoga were, by the terms of the convention, to have sailed immediately from Boston, as soon as they found shipping and transports prepared. General Burgoyne requested, in respectful terms, and merely as a favour, that they might have leave to march to Rhode island, and there embark. On no better grounds than this request, congress affected to entertain suspicions of the intentions of Burgoyne's officers, and passed this dishonourable resolution. In the Saratoga convention, not a word was mentioned of a ratification from home being requisite. A daring and open requital of cruelties would have been less contemptible than this act of swindling.

If the war did not now teem with eventful battles, it was not wanting in bloody detail. Whatever plea may be held up for European severity of warfare, the heart sickens with no doubtful disgust at the farther recital of Indian barbarity in this campaign. After all that had been said of those abominable allies; after the honour and humanity of England had been appealed to on this subject, and the walls of the senate shaken by the execration of its virtuous statesmen, against such infamous hostilities; it was reserved for the ensuing summer to witness 'the head and front of their offending.' In the month of July 1778, Colonel Butter, a British agent with the Indians, along with his associate Brandt, a monster half Indian,

half European by birth, led out a force of 1600 men against the beautiful settlement of Wyoming, on the slopes of the Susquehanah. Of the whole destructive force 400 were native Indians; but the military spirit of these warriors seemed a sufficient lever for the whole mass. No portion of English honour or humanity diffused its influence on this expedition. It was all merciless deformity. The first garrison that fell in the way of these invaders had not the shape of capitulation proposed to them, but were all slaughtered, or burnt alive. The whole of this infant settlement, comprehending several townships and numberless fair plantations, the abodes of a peaceful and happy people, rich in their fertile soil, and blest with the finest climate under heaven, was delivered to the fury of the savages. Men, women, and children, were consigned to the sword, or to conflagration; and, amidst the general destruction, minute cruelties were inflicted on individual sufferers, which it baffles human language sufficiently to paint or to execrate.

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In lenity to the memory of this descent, it has been said, that the Americans retaliated by another expedition against the loyalists of the same quarter. If this fact is to exculpate the transaction, it should at least be ascertained to have been a parallel in enormity; and then, in palliation of our own guilt, and that of our precious allies, we should only have to weigh the retribution against the crime. But the cool narrators,[a] who balance these two expeditions with less importance than the sinking of a gun-boat, or the list of brandy and powder casks captured in a fort, give us no particulars of the American expeditions, that denote them as equivalent to such barbarities. Besides, though vindictive cruelty be akin to what is spontaneous,

[a] I allude to Stedman in particular.

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it is less atrocious. The reader of common feelings will be less surprised that Americans, exasperated by all that could madden human nature, were driven to unjustifiable actions, than that ministers, responsible for the honour of the British name, did not protest against such barbarities.

The commissioners for peace, not discouraged by their late repulse, attempted to smooth the way to negociation by private communication. General Johnstone, it was said, conveyed, through the aid of an American lady, of the name of Ferguson, an offer to General Reed of an affluent reward, if he would undertake the task of mediation between Britain and the colonies. His reply is said to have been,—'If this offer be meant as a bribe, I am not worth purchasing; but, such as I am, the king of Britain is not rich enough to do it.' This abortive attempt induced congress to forbid their members, by a solemn act, to correspond with Governor Johnstone in any shape. The governor resigned his share in the commission for peace, in an angry declaration at the conduct of the American government, which he charged with all the guilt of unprincipled ambition. The other commissioners for peace, finding every door to negociation shut, issued a last and valedictory manifesto. A short time, they said, would elapse ere they should depart for England; but, if that time should elapse in vain, and America continue deaf to their offers, they denounced the unbounded vengeance of the offended mother country on her rebellious colonies.

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The colonists, it may be well imagined, were not now to be intimidated by threats. To this bravado, for it deserves no better name, their government issued a counter-manifesto, calling on the people to be prepared for resisting and repelling those intended enormities. They inveighed against

the spirit of revenge which dictated the British manifesto; but, in the true fallibility of human nature, embraced the same disgraceful principle in their own, when they called on all the patriots of America to ravage the properties, and to burn the dwellings, of those internal enemies to their independence, whom they denominated Tories. CHAP. XIV. 1778.

Our fleet, which sailed under Byron, as a counterpoise to the accession of French power in the West Indies, acquired by the accession of D'Estaing's squadron, was unfortunately scattered in a storm. After attempting in vain to reach Boston, they were driven to Rhode island. In consequence of its disasters and delays, the French were enabled, on the 6th of September, to capture Dominique, in the West Indies. The island capitulated to the marquis de Bouillé, under very favourable terms. The island of St. Lucia submitted to our arms, under more brilliant circumstances than this bloodless conquest obtained by Bouillé. Admiral Barrington, joined by six ships under Commodore Hotham, and 5000 men from New-York, under General Grey, attacked St. Lucia on the 13th of December. D'Estaing speedily appeared, with his fleet of 12 sail of the line, many frigates and armed ships, and 9000 soldiers, but was repulsed at the Cul-de-sac by Barrington with a far inferior force. In three separate attacks, which D'Estaing continued to make by sea, in concert with the land troops of the French, the assailants were successively beat back; soon after the last defeat, he re-embarked, leaving the island to its inevitable fate. The British granted very favourable terms upon taking it.

It appeared to the Americans that the conduct of the French, in rather securing to themselves whatever they could capture from the British in the West Indies, than assisting the cause of their

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independence on the continent, was an effect of very selfish policy. D'Estaing's abandoning Rhode island was in particular complained of as a dereliction of the common cause, and a breach of the promises, as well as intentions, of his most christian majesty. His proclamation, before sailing to the West Indies, to the inhabitants of Canada, invited them to renew their obedience to their native sovereign. As this opened the eyes of the provincials to the true designs of their allies, it was in vain that the French party in the congress made interest for a body of the American troops to co-operate with the French in an intended expedition to that quarter. General Washington wrote his sentiments to congress upon this subject, dissuading them from so impolitic a measure.

Towards the close of the year, General Clinton meditated the recovery of the province of Georgia, of which the possession would open an easy access for the conquest of South Carolina. Both the time and circumstances favoured this project. The land forces, consisting of the 71st regiment of foot, two battalions of Hessians, four of provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery, were intrusted to the command of Colonel Campbell, and sailed from Sandy-hook on the 27th of November, under convoy of Commodore Parker. Instructions were sent to Major-general Prevost, who commanded the troops in East Florida, to invade Georgia on that side. The transports, after a month's sail, arrived at the mouth of the river Savannah; and, after encountering some difficulties, opened their way to the capital of the province, which bears the same name as the river. The continental forces, under General Robert Howe, were drawn up about half a mile east from Savannah, to the amount of 1500 men. Colonel Campbell immediately proceeded to attack them, and before night had so

completely routed or captured his opposers, that the town of Savannah, with the shipping in its harbour, and 40 pieces of cannon, fell into his possession. Within a fortnight, the whole province, except Sunbury, was recovered; but that place was also soon added to our conquests by the arms of General Prevost, and the greater number of the Georgians swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty. CHAP. XIV. 1778.

From this sketch of the campaign of 1778, it is now time to turn our attention to the affairs of Europe. Admiral Keppel, an officer long celebrated for his naval abilities, and extremely popular among the sailors, was destined to the command of that fleet in the Channel, to which was entrusted the defence of our island, and the preservation of our homeward-bound trade. Though the admiral stood unconnected with ministry, or rather known to entertain the sentiments of opposition, the choice of ministers concurring honourably, in this instance, with the voice of the people, fell upon Keppel. His forty years meritorious service had met with no other reward (to use his own expression), than confidence being placed in him in the hour of danger. Arriving at Portsmouth, he found only six ships of the line fit for service; a few more afterwards joined him, and at his earnest representation, the whole armament was made up to twenty. With this fleet he sailed from St. Helens; and although war had not been formally declared, he gave chace to two French frigates, the Licorne and la Belle Poule, who came within sight of his fleet, evidently to reconnoitre. The Licorne was brought along with the fleet; she made an ineffectual effort to escape, but was obliged to strike her colours. The Belle Poule escaped by setting up all her sails, after an obstinate engagement with the Arethusa. On board the Licorne

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June 15.

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some papers were discovered, in which the French fleet at Brest was described as 32 sail of the line. Keppel, on the faith of this estimation, retired into Portsmouth. Immediate exertions were made by the admiralty to retrieve their past negligence, and in a short time the British commander was enabled, with a fleet of 30 ships of the line, to go again in quest of the enemy, who had by this time left Brest. On the 27th of July, the fleets of the two nations encountered off Ushant, in consequence of a dark squall, which seconded the ardour of the British commander, in compelling the enemy to an action, which they seemed desirous to avoid. The French fired first, and at a great distance, confining their efforts chiefly to the rigging of our vessels. The British reserved their fire for more effectual execution, so that the loss of men fell much more severely on the enemies. The fleets, consisting on each side of three divisions, lay on different tacks, sailing in opposite directions. Keppel, using his efforts to renew the combat, called upon the commanders of his different divisions to bear down into his wake. Of these commanders Sir Robert Harland obeyed the signals; but Sir Hugh Palliser, whose ship had been very much damaged, did not join the admiral till next day, as he was engaged all the day-light in repairing his damages. During the darkness, the French placed three frigates, with lights, to deceive the English, and by next morning were almost out of sight, steering for their own coasts. As it was impossible for Keppel to renew the action, he returned to Plymouth, and D'Orvilliers, the French admiral, withdrew into Brest. The English had 506 killed and wounded. The lowest estimate of the loss of the French was 1200. In spite of their acknowledged loss, however, and their flight by night, they claimed the victory; although the only account that they could give of

their escape was, that next morning they were 'astonished to find themselves in Brest harbour.' CHAP. XIV. 1778.

Unsullied as the national bravery was by the engagement off Ushant, it excited a general murmur through the fleet, as well as afterwards through the nation, that a glorious and decided victory had not crowned the evident superiority of our arms. As the chief cause of this failure was attributed to the event of Sir Hugh Palliser not having been able to join the commander in chief, all the officers of that division felt their honour attacked by the generality of the imputation. A letter, without a signature, which appeared in one of the newspapers, expressed this charge on Sir Hugh Palliser, in strong accusatorial terms. In vindication of his conduct, the vice-admiral of the blue directly called upon Admiral Keppel to sign a paper, describing the engagement in such colours as took away the slightest possibility of blame from Sir Hugh Palliser. Keppel rejected the proposal. His refusal drew a letter from the other, which appeared in the newspapers, in which, not contented with stating arguments in his own defence, he hinted some severe censures on the conduct of his superior officer. Admiral Keppel declared publicly (and communicated his resolution to the first lord of the admiralty), that he never would again act in conjunction with the vice-admiral of the blue, as nothing less than a mutiny could be expected in a fleet where the writer of such a letter held any command. The result of this dispute was, Sir Hugh Palliser's demanding a court-martial to be held on the conduct of Admiral Keppel, to which the board of admiralty agreed, with an alacrity that gave great offence to the nation. A court-martial was held. The admiral was honourably acquitted of all the charges exhibited against him respecting the 27th of July; and so much of the events of that day

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were again brought to the remembrance of the public, by the recital of facts, that Sir Hugh Palliser's popularity decreased, in proportion as the character of the other was raised in the public esteem. The disappointed accuser now demanded a trial on himself, which terminated in his courage being pronounced unimpeachable. He was acquitted on the general charge of improper conduct, but a slight censure was passed on his neglect to assist his commander to the utmost of his power. In such esteem was the veteran Keppel held, by both the nation and parliament, that his acquittal was celebrated by general illuminations, and he received from both houses a vote of thanks for his services. The accuser hid his head in disgrace; he was scarcely protected from popular indignation, and found himself obliged to decline every public situation, except his rank in the navy. The only fault imputable to Keppel, seems to have been his wilful concealment of the vice-admiral's failure to second his efforts off Ushant, as the true cause of that victory being fruitless; a concealment which he must have made out of friendship to Palliser, as it tended to endanger his own just reputation.

Parliament met on the 25th of November (1778). His majesty's speech pronounced the late conduct of France to have been a violation of the faith of treaties, and of the rights of sovereigns, and an aggression, without principle or justification. His majesty regretted the failure of our efforts to conciliate and restore his revolted subjects, but trusted in the justice of his cause, as well as the loyalty of his parliament and people of Britain, to crown his future exertions with final success. To the echoes of assent which the minister's majority in both houses obtained, the opposition amendment, proposing to insert a clause in reprobation of his *majesty's unwise ministers, and their unhappy system*

of policy, fell to the ground by the usual negative. Very early in the ensuing month, the attention of both houses was called by members of the same party, to the valedictory nature of the manifesto which our commissioners had left in America, purporting that the nature of the war was to be changed, and a system of indiscriminate destruction substituted for common hostilities. Mr. Coke, who moved in the house of commons for addressing his majesty on the exceptionable passages of the manifesto, quoted the following ambiguous declaration; that the war was to be carried on with a rigour hitherto unknown, and that his majesty's troops had *hitherto* refrained from the extremes of war, and 'the desolation of the country;' implying, as far as words could go, that the fire-brand and the sword were now to be used without restriction. Ministers denied the manifesto to express such a resolution, but were in this point contradicted by one of the returned commissioners, who might be supposed to be the best interpreter of his own text, and who avowed, as well as justified, the meaning ascribed to it by opposition. The purposed address, to beseech his majesty that no such additional rigour might be infused into American hostilities, was lost by a minority of 121 to 209.

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After the trial of the admirals Keppel and Palliser, several motions were made in both houses, tending to impeach the conduct of the admiralty. Mr. Fox conducted these attacks in the house of commons. Founding a motion on the contents of the papers found in the Pallas and Licorne, he proposed a resolution of the house, that the sending admiral Keppel, in June last, to a station off the coast of France, with 20 ships of the line and 4 frigates, when the French had 32 ships of the line, and a much superior force of frigates ready for sea at Brest, was a measure highly to be cen-

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sured in ministers. Admiral Keppel appeared as evidence against the admiralty, and declared that he never had been more distressed than when he was obliged, in consequence of the information acquired from the Pallas and Licorne, to turn his back on the enemy. The lords Mulgrave and North argued in defence of government, that evidence drawn from the above papers was to be admitted neither as proof against their conduct, nor grounds of apology for Admiral Keppel's retreat, especially as he had not called a council of officers before he set sail on that retreat. The admiral insisted on the authenticity of the papers, confirmed as they were by the appearance of the very fleet of d'Orvilliers, who came out of Brest harbour to the same number, armed and manned exactly as the papers had stated. Upon the charge of not having called a council of war, he said, that although he had not summoned a council of war, he consulted several officers individually, who concurred with him in the propriety of returning to port. He had omitted (he acknowledged) paying that compliment to Lord Mulgrave, because captains so young as his lordship in general overlooked every consideration of prudence, in their eagerness to fight. The motion was negatived. Mr. Fox had promised, that if the present motion was carried, he would follow it with another, for the removal of the first lord of the admiralty. This nobleman had deservedly incurred odium, by the countenance he had given to the late prosecution of Admiral Keppel. Of this he now felt the effect, the motion of censure being negatived by a majority of 34 voices only. Encouraged by the unaccustomed strength of the opposition on this occasion, Mr. Fox in a few days moved that the state of the navy at the breaking out of the present war was inadequate to the exigencies of the service. Lord Howe

came forward during this debate, and affirmed in evidence against the admiralty, that he had been deceived into his command, and deceived while he retained it. Tired and disgusted (he said), he obtained permission to resign, and would have returned, had not the presence of a superior enemy in the American seas prevented him, till the period of Byron's arrival. Recollecting what he suffered, he would never return to a situation under the present admiralty, where, besides risking his honour and professional character, he was unfit, from the character of his employers, to render any essential service to his country.

The whole forces of administration being drawn out to parry this attack, the motion was overwhelmed.

When parliament was on the eve of being prorogued, a message from his majesty announced the alarming intelligence, that Spain had become a party to the war. In the hostile manifesto of his catholic majesty's ambassador, the count d'Almodovar, there were enumerated, with more precision than proof, exactly one hundred causes of complaint against his Britannic majesty, which formed the grounds of his Spanish majesty's declaration of war. The manifesto stated, that innumerable insults had been offered by British subjects to those of Spain, and even murderous hostilities committed, without reparation or atonement. As no answer to these accusations in detail was given by our court, it is barely possible that some of them may have been just; but the industry shewn in compiling them, discovers on the side of the Spanish court a distrust in their individual importance. Independent of alleged injuries, the unfortunate issue of a mediation attempted by his catholic majesty, between Great Britain and her enemies was his chief pretext for an open declaration of

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war. Great Britain, it appears by this same manifesto, had accepted of the Spanish offer of mediation; but as soon as the court of Madrid proposed to make the independence of British America a preliminary to negociation, the British minister refused to negociate on such terms. Whatever concession of independence it might have been prudent to have made to our colonies, when the chance of their subjugation had become desperate, it seemed a just vindication of the national honour to grant that independence from ourselves, and not to the interference of others. The court of Spain, however, proclaimed this refusal as one of the hundred injuries we had offered. It would have been more to the purpose, to have substantiated the wanton capture of a single ship, or the maltreatment of a single individual.

Whatever opinion the nation might entertain of this interference on the part of Spain, the minister was severely censured for his past assurances, which had taught it to regard such an event as impossible, and for leaving the force of the country unprepared for its impending danger. Sir John Cavendish proposed, in the commons, that a bill should be passed, advising his majesty to concentrate the whole military force for the defence of the British territories; and the duke of Richmond moved a similar resolution in the lords, that our unhappy warfare in America should be abandoned, for the sake of security at home. Our whole naval force, that could be brought to action at this awful crisis, amounted to no more than 31 ships of the line, when it was known, by authentic intelligence, that 28 ships of the line had sailed from France, and were hourly expected to make themselves masters of the channel. Though both of these motions failed, the necessity for preparation was not to be disguised. In compliance with the

general sense of danger, ministers introduced a militia bill, for the internal defence of the country. Lord North's proposal was to double the number of the militia. To this plan several of his usual opponents gave general acquiescence, expressing their satisfaction that any thing in the shape of defensive measures was kept in contemplation, although they dreaded it would be found impracticable, unpopular, and dangerous, by affecting the supply and resources of the recruiting service; and therefore wished to amend, not to obstruct, the measure. As there seemed an end of party feeling on this question, the debate became desultory, and numberless opinions were given. Among these, three seemed the most prevalent. One was for adopting the proposal as it originally stood, another for a mixed scheme of a smaller augmentation of the militia, and supplying the difference by those volunteer associations which the country has since so abundantly organized. The third proposal was to trust to the public spirit of the nobles and gentry, in raising forces according to offers which they had already made, and to make no increase of the militia. After a tedious debate, the ministerial bill for increasing the militia passed into the house of lords; but there it experienced an unexpected opposition. The duke of Richmond, expatiating on the dangerous tendencies of its leading clause, and entering into close investigation of its merits, was by his great display of military information, enabled to turn the day against ministers, and brought over some of the chief members of the cabinet lords to his opinion, so as to reject the compulsory clauses of Lord North's proposal, by a considerable majority.[4] The two secretaries of state, and the lord-president Gower, voted with opposition on this occasion. Thus the bill was re-

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[4] Viz. 39 to 22.

deceased earl of Suffolk as one of the secretaries of state. Viscount Weymouth again resigned the seals of the southern department, and was succeeded by the earl of Hillsborough. Lord Gower resigned the presidency of the council to Earl Bathurst, the late chancellor of Great Britain. The great seal had been given, in the course of the preceding year, to the attorney-general, then created Baron Thurlow.

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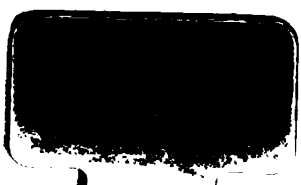
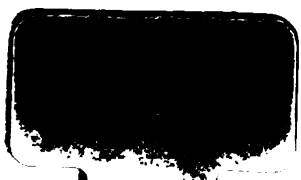
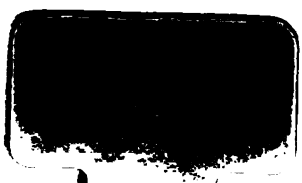
END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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